The East Tennessee Historical Society's PUBLICATIONS

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FOR KNOX COUNTY, TENNESSEE (1949)

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FOUR INTERPRETATIONS OF THE HISTORY OF THE STATE OF FRANKLIN

By Walter Faw Cannon

In that confused and confusing period between Cornwallis' surrender and the adoption of the federal Constitution, one of the more interesting events was the establishment of a new state, called Franklin, in the mountains of western North Carolina (now Tennessee). It functioned for more than four years with all the powers of the original thirteen states, issuing money, administering justice, making treaties, waging war on the Indians—it even had an admiral of the navy, with no navy, of course!—only to disappear completely from the political map of the continent. The history of this lost state of Franklin is of interest not only to the legend-makers of the people but to scholarly historians as well, for it presents many of the problems of frontier development in a fairly small package. Moreover, the men who were important in the affairs of Franklin—John Sevier, Richard Caswell, William Cocke, and the rest—made history also in North Carolina and Tennessee.

There is, however, considerable disagreement among chroniclers of Franklin as to the reasons for the founding of the state and for its subsequent decline. We may distinguish four separate theories, which for convenience may be labeled the democratic, the ingrate, the speculative, and the separatist explanations. But to evaluate these it is first necessary to review the sequence of events in the history of Franklin.

THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK[1]

As the American Revolution idled to a close, the interest of North Carolinians was increasingly diverted to the rich uncultivated lands west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. To the settler, these lands furnished room for expansion; to the speculator, they offered exciting opportunities; and to the state, they were a potential source of great revenue. In particular, the natural direction for expansion from the settlements in the valleys of the Watauga and Holston rivers was southwestward along the Tennessee River toward the Great Bend and the Muscle Shoals region, rather than across the Cumberland Mountains into Middle Tennessee. Anyone who has attempted to travel from Knoxville to Nashville can testify as to the accuracy of this statement. The fact that this region was held by the Cherokee and Creek

[1]The most extensive treatment of Franklin is given in Samuel C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (revised edition, New York, 1933). Hereafter cited as Williams, *Lost State*. Therein may be found justification for all facts stated in the first section of this paper and not credited elsewhere. A shorter, more readable account is given in Philip M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee—A History*, 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 113-47.

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Indians did not deter the settlers and speculators, nor did it bother the state greatly.

Hence in 1783 a land company was formed, headed by William Blount and including Richard Caswell, John Donelson, Joseph Martin, Griffith Rutherford, and John Sevier, for the purpose of developing the lands of the Great Bend, which, they discovered, were located in Georgia. In 1785 an expedition was sent to the region and a land office was opened, but apparently because of the opposition of the Indians no settlement was made.[2] The Muscle Shoals project was not dropped, however, but played a part in the history of Franklin.

The really successful push for land was made possible by the North Carolina assembly. It arbitrarily fixed the northern boundary of the Cherokee reservation at the French Broad River, and set aside a three million acre tract in Middle Tennessee to be used as a reward for Carolina's Continental troops. In 1783 the rest of the unsettled western land was thrown open to all comers at ten pounds per hundred acres. A tremendous rush to John Armstrong's land office at Hillsborough resulted, and although the office was closed in seven months, nearly four million acres were located,[3] primarily by speculators. The Cherokees were promised payment for their confiscated lands north of the French Broad; they never received it. The rights of the Chickasaw Indians to West Tennessee were ignored.

North Carolina was at this time under pressure from Congress to cede her western lands and, after Virginia had done so, there was no longer an excuse for stalling. On June 2, 1784, the Carolina assembly voted for the cession of all her western lands, from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Mississippi River. Included in the ceded territory were two white outposts: the Holston-Watauga settlements, previously organized as Sullivan, Greene, and Washington counties of North Carolina, and the settlements in Middle Tennessee around Nashville, organized as Davidson County. The cession act contained provisions that all land entries made under Carolina jurisdiction should be recognized, and that Carolina sovereignty should be maintained until the cession was accepted by Congress.[4]

As soon as this news reached the transmontane counties, they called a convention to deliberate on a plan of action. They were not totally unprepared; agitation for separation had been going on at least since 1782. In that year Arthur Campbell of Virginia had circulated a document calling

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[2]A. P. Whitaker, "The Muscle Shoals Speculation," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XIII (1926-1927), 365-86, gives an expanded discussion of this project. He states, however (page 370), that the land office was not opened and that the Indians offered no opposition. For a justification of these statements, see Carl S. Driver, *John Sevier* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 71n.

[3]*American State Papers, Public Lands*, 8 vols. (Washington, 1832-1861), I, 24.

[4]Walter Clark (ed.), *State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1895-1905), XIX, 642, 699; XXIV, 561-64. Hereafter cited as *SRNC*. Davidson County abstained from the Franklin movement throughout.

for the combination of the southwestern counties of Virginia and the western counties of North Carolina into a new state. Moreover, Congress had passed Jefferson's Ordinance of March, 1784, encouraging self-government in territory to be ceded by the states; and the Carolina cession act had specified that a new state or states should be established in the western territory. Meeting at Jonesboro on August 23, 1784, the settlers elected John Sevier president, declared themselves independent, and agreed to meet again to draw up a constitution.

The opponents of the cession act, including in particular Hugh Williamson, delegate to Congress, made it an issue in the Carolina political campaign that summer. In November the movement for repeal, led by William Davie and Thomas Person, was successful.[5] At the same session of the assembly a new judicial district (Washington) was created for the western counties. This entitled the transmontane people to a superior court and a militia brigade of their own. The action was designed to quiet the complaints of the westerners that the difficulty of traveling over the mountains effectively denied them access to the courts and protection against the Indians. David Campbell and John Sevier, both from the western country, were appointed respectively assistant judge and brigadier general for the new district.

But before this news reached the west, the constitutional convention had met (on December 14, 1784) and, on motion of William Cocke, had declared for forming a separate state. A temporary constitution, essentially the same as that of North Carolina, was adopted. In a plan of action drawn up by Cocke and Joseph Hardin, the westerners gave as some of their reasons for desiring independence:

> The seat of government being among ourselves would evidently tend not only to keep a circulating medium of gold and silver among us, but draw it from many individuals living in other States who claim large quantities of lands that would lie in the bounds of the new State . . . . our interest must be generally neglected, and sometimes sacrificed, to promote theirs [the eastern counties'] . . . .[6]

When the repeal of the cession act and the creation of Washington District became known in the west, Sevier was at first opposed to a continuation of the new movement but soon changed his mind, either through the persuasion of Cocke or from a feeling of duty as the leader of the people. He later stated that he was "dragged into the franklin measures by a large number of the people . . . ."[7]

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[5]*SRNC*, XIX, 711-14; XXIV, 678-79.

[6]John Haywood, *Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, reprint of 1891), 151-52.

[7]Sevier to Joseph Martin, March 27, 1788, W. P. Palmer, *et al.* (eds.), *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, 11 vols. (Richmond, 1875-1893), IV, 416.

The first assembly of the state of Franklin, held in March, 1785, elected Sevier governor and drafted a letter of explanation to Governor Alexander Martin of North Carolina. The refusal to accept the repeal of the cession act was justified on several grounds: the failure of Carolina to maintain an adequate administration of justice; her failure to supply goods to pay the Cherokees for the territory the state had taken from them in 1783, with resultant Indian raids; the levying of as heavy taxes on their lands as on the more valuable estates in the eastern part of the state. "In short," they said, "the Western Country found themselves taxed to support government, while they were deprived of all the blessing of it." Also the westerners were incensed by words reported to have been used by some of the eastern legislators in discussing the cession act, such as, "The inhabitants of the Western Country are the offscourings of the earth, fugitives from justice, and we will be rid of them at any rate."[8]

Governor Martin replied with a fiery manifesto stating that the complaints of the mountaineers were not justified, blaming the rebellion on "restless ambition and a lawless thirst for power," and threatening the use of force.[9] Sevier at once issued as fiery a counter-manifesto, but wrote a conciliatory letter to Richard Caswell, who was soon to succeed Martin as governor of North Carolina. Caswell's reply in effect postponed decision until the next meeting of the Carolina assembly.

Encouraged by this action, Franklin proceeded to act as a sovereign state, even signing a treaty with the Cherokees at Dumplin Creek which gave over to the white men large tracts of land south of the French Broad River. These lands were promptly settled and afterwards furnished a loyal backing for Franklin and Sevier, since by the laws of North Carolina the settlers were mere squatters on Indian lands. They could receive no legal title to their farms, and could not claim the right to be protected by the state from the Indians.

At the second assembly of Franklin, in August, 1785, an act was passed for the encouragement of an expedition to the Great Bend region. The second constitutional convention, after bitter argument over an unusual and democratic proposal made by a clergyman, adopted the old document permanently.

For the first half of 1786 the affairs of the state continued in a peaceful and united fashion. One event that cemented her factions was the Treaty of Hopewell, which had been negotiated by commissioners of the Continental Congress with the Cherokees in November, 1785. Not only did this treaty fix the Indian boundary so far north of the French Broad as to include much of the territory of Franklin—even the capital, Greeneville—in the Cherokee reservation, but it also declared that if any white settler should

[8]Williams, *Lost State,* 63-64.
[9]*Ibid.*, 69.

refuse to move off this land, "the Indians may punish him or not as they please."[10] No one ever cared to try to enforce such a treaty, of course.

Dissension arose in July when the opponents of the separation, led by John Tipton, tried to put into effect an act of the North Carolina assembly designed to split the rebels. It provided for elections to the assembly by the transmontane counties in defiance of the authority of Franklin. Sevier's moderation prevented a small-scale civil war, but from that time on, both Carolina and Franklin officials tried to exercise jurisdiction over the people. In October plans for an expedition against the Creek Indians in conjunction with Georgia were drawn up, but Georgia was not quite ready to proceed. Commissioners were sent to treat with North Carolina, but with no effect. Governor Caswell was still striving for some sort of reconciliation, but his legislature was adamant.

In the spring of 1787 Caswell appointed Evan Shelby as Carolina's militia general in the mountains, and he, well-respected by the Franks, reached a truce agreement with Sevier; but this was violently rejected by the other rebels, headed by William Cocke. Shelby was so discouraged that he recommended the use of troops; Caswell, however, refused to change his policy of moderation.[11]

Sevier, too, was hopeful of a compromise, but when by August none had been reached, he dropped his opposition to a proposal Cocke had made in May. This was that the Franklin leaders stand for election to the Carolina assembly in opposition to the followers of Tipton, in the hope that they could present their case better from the floor of the assembly than through commissioners. The plan was carried out and at least two Franks, David Campbell and Daniel Kennedy, were elected. As an added measure the Franklin assembly elected Shelby to succeed Sevier when the latter's term as governor should expire in the spring of 1788. Shelby refused to be won over to such an extent, but he soon resigned his position as brigadier general and recommended Sevier as his successor!

Then a deadly blow was struck at Franklin's prospects. The convention at Philadelphia completed its work on the new federal constitution. Included in it was the provision that a state newly formed within the territory of another state would be admitted into the Union only with the consent of the parent state.[12] It was apparent that North Carolina would never consent to Franklin's admission; the refusal of her legislature, at its November meeting, to repeal the repeal of the cession act only emphasized this fact. Support for Franklin began to dwindle when the westerners, strongly Federalist, realized that the success of their movement would

[10]*Statutes at Large of the United States*, VII, 19.

[11]The full text of the truce agreement is given in *SRNC*, XXII, 674. Shelby's letter to Caswell, May 4, 1787, is in *ibid.*, 680.

[12]United States Constitution, Article IV, Section 3.

mean isolation from the Union. Sevier's one chance seemed to be consolidation of feeling back of him by means of the Great Bend adventure, for the consummation of which he had been working during the summer, but Georgia delayed and finally, in February, 1788, called off the expedition.

The affairs of the state degenerated into sporadic fighting between Sevier and Tipton, who had been his chief political and personal enemy throughout the whole venture. Sevier waged war against the Indians and dallied with an intrigue with the Spanish.[13] In October, 1788, he was arrested by Tipton but escaped to the southern counties. They, situated on Indian territory, remained loyal until February, 1789, at which time Sevier swore allegiance to North Carolina. He took his seat in the Carolina senate in November as representative of Greene County, and soon afterwards all legal discriminations against him were removed. At this session the western lands of North Carolina were again ceded to the United States on terms highly unfavorable to the national government.

THE HISTORIANS' CONTROVERSY

With this framework of the history of Franklin in mind, the various interpretations may now be considered.

1. *Democratic.* The position taken by some professional Tennesseans has been written down by James Gilmore, to wit: that Franklin was an expression of the native democratic spirit rising up in the hardy souls of the westerners, who "sought in their Western homes not so much worldly wealth as political freedom." Sevier is then "the rearguard of the Revolution, and the guardian and defender of the newly planted civilization beyond the Alleghanies"; "pre-eminently disinterested and unambitious—one of the least self-seeking of those great men to whom the world owes the establishment of civil and religious freedom in America." [14]

2. *Ingrate.* The North Carolina historian Wheeler attributed the Franklin movement to a "lawless thirst for power" against the "patriotic and self-sacrificing" state of North Carolina, with Sevier being seduced by "the sin whereby the angels fell." [15] This view was seconded and extended by Andrew Johnson in a speech before Congress in 1861, in which he quoted at length from Wheeler and then continued:

> The State of Frankland had its birth in an attempt at disunion and was rocked to death in the cradle of secession; and its

[13]For details of this intrigue, see A. P. Whitaker, "The Spanish Conspiracy in the Old Southwest," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII (1925-1926), 155-76, and "Muscle Shoals Speculation," *loc. cit.;* Williams, *Lost State*, 235-44.

[14]James Gilmore, *John Sevier as a Commonwealth Builder* (New York, 1898), 8, 10, 32.

[15]John H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (Philadelphia, 1851), I, 92, 93, 95.

great defender and founder at that time, notwithstanding his great popularity and the attachment the people had for him, was lodged in irons . . . . Yes, sir, this nefarious, this blighting, this withering doctrine of secession ended by placing that distinguished man in irons.[16]

3. *Speculative.* The importance of a speculators' conspiracy is stressed by T. P. Abernethy in his *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee,* in which he says:

> Historians have heretofore treated the Franklin movement as a serious rebellion—the cry of the West for freedom. From this point of view, Sevier's policy is incomprehensible. In reality the movement was, according to abundant evidence, a game played between two rival groups of land speculators. One of these groups, headed by Caswell and Blount and supported by Sevier, held vast tracts of western lands obtained through John Armstrong's office. A cession of the western country to Congress might be made so as to secure these claims . . . . their plans miscarried through the efforts of Thomas Person and the North Carolina Radicals who secured the repeal of the cession act.
>
> Arthur Campbell and the other speculators [including Cocke] who had no share in Blount's and Caswell's plans took advantage of the resentment the cession act engendered among the rank and file of the frontiersmen to bring about a declaration of independence. This was expected to remove the west from under the control of the North Carolina politicians and give the outsiders a chance at the lands. They were thwarted in this scheme by the ingenious Sevier. . . . He stepped in and took charge of the rebel government. His plan was to bring about, with the aid of Blount and Caswell, a reconciliation with the parent state, and some compromise on the question of separation and the lands. This doubtless could have been effected to the advantage of the group had it not been that Tipton and Cocke cooperated with Person and the Radicals in preventing either an accommodation or a cession . . . . When the collapse of the Franklin movement finally came, circumstances had so changed that the victors gained little from their triumph.[17]

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[16]*Speech of Hon. Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, on the State of the Union* (Washington, 1861), 25. "Frankland" was a common mistake; the state was named in honor of Benjamin Franklin. It is interesting to compare this speech with a resolution introduced by Johnson in the Tennessee Senate in 1841: "*Resolved* by the General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, that there be a joint select committee appointed . . . to memorialize the general government for the purpose of being formed into a sovereign and independent State to be called the State of Frankland . . . . *Resolved*, That his excellency, Governor James C. Jones, be and he hereby is required to open and hold a correspondence with the Governors of the States of Georgia, North Carolina and Virginia for the purpose of ascertaining their opinions in relation to ceding a portion of the territory of their respective States . . . to be included in the State of Frankland when formed . . . ." The resolution was apparently quite serious and was passed by the Tennessee senate. It was killed in the next session in the house. Williams, *Lost State,* 285.

[17]Thomas P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 89-90. Hereafter cited as Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation.*

4. *Separatist.* The final view to be considered is that suggested by Turner and expounded by Williams and Driver,[18] that

> The State of Franklin presented the most striking example of those separatist movements common on the frontier in the early days of the nation . . . . Their grievances against the mother State, their fear of continued domination, the subordination of their interests to those of the eastern part of North Carolina, their apparent abandonment by that government, and their resentment against real and fancied wrongs led them to embark upon a new experiment in self-government.[19]

In this theory, control of the land was merely *one* of the matters in which the westerners wanted to free themselves from Carolina control. It was the eastern group led by Person and Davie that was wronging them; Blount was a more or less independent speculator with whom Caswell and Sevier were, to be sure, connected; but these latter did not let their personal speculative schemes interfere unduly with the performance of their duties as governors (and *vice versa*).

CONSIDERATION OF THE INTERPRETATIONS

The first two approaches to the problem can be disposed of rather briefly.

To the "pre-eminently disinterested and unambitious" Sevier of Gilmore's book we need merely oppose the historical Sevier, who was a member of the Muscle Shoals scheme and who by 1790 was the owner of at least 70,000 acres of land granted to him by North Carolina alone, and possibly of much more which he had bought from individuals rather than from the state or which he had obtained before 1777.[20]

And to those who consider that the state of North Carolina was "patriotic and self-sacrificing," we can cite a letter of Governor Martin to the North Carolina delegation in Congress in 1783:

> Perhaps Congress may be dissatisfied with the mode of our Land Office being opened, as we have made them no cessions of any part of our western Lands . . . . I can venture to say there will be no cession of any Lands worthy of acceptance, as the principal Lands will be entered before this reaches you.[21]

Martin was no mean judge; after the lands were ceded permanently, Secretary of State Jefferson reported to the President that eight million

[18]F. J. Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History* (New York, 1932), 136-38; Williams, *Lost State*, x; Driver, *John Sevier*, 79.
[19]Driver's Introduction to Williams, *Lost State*, xvii.
[20]Driver, *John Sevier*, 69.
[21]*SRNC*, XVI, 919-20.

acres had been granted by North Carolina. Of land susceptible to culture and cleared of Indian title, there remained ungranted only about 300,000 acres—upon which, however, were living some three hundred squatters with first rights to the land.[22] Thus North Carolina was careful to make as much money as possible from the sale of western lands before finally turning over the financial burden of governing the territory to the national government.

As I incline to the fourth viewpoint, the separatist one, perhaps the best procedure will be to examine Abernethy's speculative case point by point. It will be remembered that he suggests that Speculators A (Blount, Caswell, and Sevier) were fighting Speculators B (Campbell, Cocke, *et al.*) for control of the land, while Person and the Carolina Radicals were trying to get the land for the people of North Carolina, and the rank and file of the Franks were blindly following their selfish hero, Sevier.

Abernethy's first point is that the eastern—Blount—speculators, with the help of eastern Conservatives who were glad to be rid of the expense of the western counties, threw the westerners out into the cold so that the speculators' shaky land grants could be processed at leisure. "The vote on the question of cession was a very clear-cut matter as between the east and the west, and the east, with the help of the speculators, won."[23]

It should be emphasized that "west" in this statement refers to piedmont North Carolina, not to the transmontane counties. Half of the delegates to the assembly from these latter counties voted for cession, half against.[24] To postulate that piedmont Carolinians possessed a feeling of kinship with the frontiersmen so strong that they would vote more solidly for the interests of the west than would the westerners themselves, seems a bit uncalled for. This is especially true since most of the westerners came from Virginia and not from North Carolina at all.[25]

Moreover, the westerners apparently did not feel that they had been cruelly cast off. "The attitude of the people on the waters of the Holston and Nolachucky was not one of resentment because of the cession," according to Williams. "In all probability a large majority would have favored it, in a plebiscite."[26] A report on a plan of action was made to the Franklin constitutional convention in December, 1784. In it there is not one word of resentment concerning the cession act, but rather it states, "The Assembly of North Carolina, by their late cession bill, opened the door, and by their prudent measures invite us to it [separation]."[27] Only later, when there was a question of continued separation after the cession act had been repealed,

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[22]*American State Papers, Public Lands*, I, 23-24. See also Williams, *Lost State*, 251n.

[23]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 56.

[24]*SRNC*, XIX, 643.

[25]Samuel C. Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War* (Nashville, 1944), 1-2, 254-55.

[26]Williams, *Lost State*, 28.

[27]Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, 152.

was there complaint about desertion by Carolina; then it was made to justify the Franks against the charge of rebellion.[28]

Next, Abernethy says that the "Radicals, led by Davie and Person, rose in their might, carried the elections, and brought about a repeal of the cession . . . . The speculators and Conservatives had gone too far. The people were now against them."[29]

The popular character of the Radicals' refusal to let go of the western country is illustrated in a letter from Person to James Robertson in 1787. One purpose of the letter was to ask that Person's own western lands be surveyed as quickly as possible. He also stated:

> Should I mend I fully intend to be with you in the West Assembly; we will then do the best we can to open the land office once more & Grant out all the Western Country, and leave Congress no further hopes of obtaining it from us to whom it justly belongs, that is to say, the state. . . . I am clear you must soon be a separate State, for which you will have my harty Concurance as soon as you can act for yourselves. . . .[30]

Person apparently thought the westerners could act for themselves as soon as the western lands had been thoroughly exploited by the easterners and the state.

Furthermore, a leader in the repeal fight was Hugh Williamson, whose chief argument was that the state had not included in the act a provision for passing along to Congress the cost of the state's Indian expeditions during the Revolution. Williamson was himself a heavy speculator in West Tennessee, and it has been suggested by Williams that his titles could be more advantageously perfected and preserved should North Carolina retain jurisdiction over the west.[31] In short, the leaders of the movement for repeal do not seem to have considered as important either the interests of the westerners or those of the nation.

The next speculative indictment is that the movement for separation was fostered indirectly by Arthur Campbell and directly by William Cocke, who was Campbell's agent as one of a group of speculators in opposition to that of Blount.[32] That Cocke knew Campbell is undeniable; that he took directions from him is not so certain. Cocke was a rather energetic man on his own account. In particular, in 1777 he defeated Campbell for election

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[28]Franklin Assembly to Governor Martin, March 22, 1785, quoted in Williams, *Lost State*, 63-65.

[29]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 57-58.

[30]Person to Robertson, May 23, 1787, in "The Correspondence of Gen. James Robertson," *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1896-1904), I (1896), 78. I have added to the original punctuation.

[31]Williamson to Governor Martin, July 5 and September 30, 1784, *SRNC*, XVII, 81, 100; Williams, *Lost State*, 36.

[32]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 68-69.

to the Virginia house of delegates; Campbell contested the election but his appeal was denied.[33] Under such circumstances it is possible that Cocke's agitation was not the result of orders from Campbell. Moreover, Campbell's interest in the separatist movement may not have been purely mercenary; Thomas Jefferson was also in favor of the establishment of new states in this region.[34]

And what of the continued support of separation after the news of the repeal of the cession act reached the west? Abernethy says, in explanation, nothing more than:

> Once a movement is well under way, it is not often abandoned before it has been tested. It is but natural that the people of Franklin persisted in their course of separation.[35]

However, the Carolina assembly that repealed the cession act also tried to quiet the Franks' complaints concerning law and order by the creation of Washington judicial district. Sevier himself issued an official address to the people of Greene County, citing the conciliatory measures and urging that they cease activity toward forming a new government.[36] If the majority of the westerners were opposed to the original cession act and were merely making the most of a bad situation when they first declared themselves to be an independent state, it seems strange that they did not eagerly follow the advice of their most influential leader. One may doubt that under such conditions even the eloquent William Cocke could have won enough adherents in two months so that the assembly could meet in March and initiate the new government in full.

As further proof that the affairs of Franklin were manipulated by the speculators, Abernethy says:

> The [Franklin constitutional] convention which assembled in December, 1784, rose to this unprecedented opportunity by adopting almost *in toto* the very instrument of government under which they had been so restive—the constitution of North Carolina, subject to ratification by a later convention. The explanation is—the land jobbers.[37]

Furthermore, at the convention held a year later the democratic constitution proposed by the Reverend Samuel Houston was rejected and the modified

[33]Samuel C. Williams, "Henderson and Company's Purchase Within the Limits of Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1915-1937), V (1919-1920), 19.

[34]Jefferson to James Madison, February 20, 1784, in Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 10 vols. (New York, 1892-99), III, 401.

[35]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 70.

[36]J. G. M. Ramsey, *The Annals of Tennessee to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (Chattanooga, reprint of 1926), 291. Hereafter cited as Ramsey, *Annals*. See also *SRNC*, XXI, 285-86.

[37]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 71-72.

Carolina constitution was ratified permanently. "Democracy was defeated in the wilderness."[88]

If one were supporting Gilmore's roseate picture of the Franks, this action would be hard indeed to explain; but the chief desire of the westerners, according to the separatist point of view, was not democracy but home rule. Indeed, the westerners had not been restive under the government of North Carolina: they were restive because they had *not* been given government by North Carolina. As for democracy, it was not common in that period, and there is no reason why the populace should instinctively have considered it desirable.

Abernethy points out that the government of Franklin did not challenge any claims to land acquired under North Carolina legislation, even though that legislation had favored the speculator.[89] This is not surprising. The right of the new state to independence was based on an appeal to the validity of the original cession act, which had specifically required that Carolina land grants be recognized. Franklin was obviously in no position to challenge the provisions of that act. In this matter the interests of the state and of the speculators coincided.

One section of Abernethy's account is worth quoting at some length. After discussing the Shelby-Sevier compromise in the spring of 1787, he states:

> In this condition of affairs, the Franklinites, under advice from Caswell to Sevier, decided that they themselves would seek election to the North Carolina legislature in order to present their case and carry through an agreement on advantageous terms. Even Evan Shelby offered as a candidate and was elected. These delegates were advised by Caswell to bring as many petitions as possible showing desire for separation. He had repeatedly urged that there would be a better chance of settlement if the transmontane men could show that they were united.
>
> It was Tipton, the anti-Franklinite, and Cocke, the Franklinite, who defeated this plan of reconciliation which Caswell and Sevier were urgently trying to carry through. Tipton men ran against the Sevier candidates for the North Carolina legislature and were able to prevent the former [*sic*] from displaying a united front in favor of separation. On the other hand, Cocke and his supporters, who were anxious to use the new state for their own purposes, prevented acceptance by the Franklinites of the compromise entered into by Sevier and Shelby. Shelby was so incensed by this turn of affairs that he advised Caswell to send troops to suppress the new state. The governor, however, was not to be stampeded. He still urged conciliation, and within the year Shelby resigned his brigadier generalship and recommended that Sevier be restored to

[88] *Ibid.*, 79. The full text of the interesting clerical proposal is given in *American Historical Magazine*, I, 54-63.

[89] Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 79.

the office; while Sevier, his term as governor having expired, secured the election of Shelby in his stead. This honor the Welshman declined.[40]

The first objection to this discussion is its disregard for dates. The Shelby-Sevier compromise was in March, and opposition by Cocke and others had effectively killed it long before August, when the elections were held.[41] So this was not one plan, but two successive ones. Shelby's advice to send troops was given in May, not after the elections. And Sevier's term of office had not expired when Shelby was elected but was to expire on March 1, 1788; whereas Shelby was elected as Sevier's future successor before August 12, 1787, when Sevier wrote him of the fact. Thus Shelby was elected before the assembly elections, which took place on the third week-end in August, and before he resigned his generalship, which he did on October 29.[42]

The section quoted is also somewhat misleading in other respects. I am unable to verify the statement that Caswell advised the Franks to stand for the North Carolina elections. Caswell, in any statements I have seen, only advised for unanimity.[43] The election plan was first brought up by William Cocke in May but was squelched by Sevier. It was resurrected in August due to failure to reach the compromise expected by Sevier in the meantime.[44]

Furthermore, it is hardly correct to suggest that Tipton's supporters became candidates in the election for the purpose of interfering with Sevier's plans. The North Carolina faction had held elections in 1786 and was planning to do so again. It was the Franks who were trying to break up the solid Tiptonite representation in the Carolina assembly, and not *vice versa*. Two Franks, Daniel Kennedy and David Campbell, were elected and attended the next session of the assembly; apparently Sevier was also elected but decided not to attend. One noteworthy result was that Tipton himself was refused a seat in the Carolina senate because of the confusion attendant on his election.[45] Finally, it seems that Evan Shelby was *not* elected to the assembly.[46]

Chronologically speaking, the last attack on Sevier in connection with the state of Franklin is Abernethy's statement that in the spring of 1788, after the effective collapse of Franklin, Sevier "retreated to the southern

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[40]*Ibid.*, 83-84.

[41]*SRNC*, XXII, 676, 678; XX, 692.

[42]Williams, *Lost State*, 161, 164.

[43]For example, see Caswell's open letter to the western counties, May 31, 1787, *SRNC*, XXII, 685.

[44]Williams, *Lost State*, 149, 161; Ramsey, *Annals*, 391.

[45]*SRNC*, XX, 326; Williams, *Lost State*, 162-63.

[46]Shelby's election is not mentioned in Williams, *Lost State*. He is not listed in the *State Records of North Carolina* as having attended the November session of the assembly. *SRNC*, XX, 199, *et seq.*, 301, *et seq.* His home county, Sullivan, was represented in the house by John Scott and George Maxwell, in the senate by Joseph Martin. *Ibid.*, XX, 121, 311.

counties where his staunchest friends held sway and precipitated the worst Indian war his country had known since the end of the Revolution."[47]

It should be pointed out, however, that Joseph Martin, the Carolina general who had succeeded Shelby in command of the district, reported in April the alarmed state of the frontiers because of the incursions of the Indians and was quoted as saying that he "expected nothing but a tiresome, bloody war with the Savages this Summer."[48] Martin was unwilling to act without specific authority from North Carolina, and only at this point did Sevier take charge of the frontiersmen. In August Martin finally decided to go ahead without orders; his campaign was a failure and Sevier once more took charge. His campaigns were successful.[49]

It is clear that there was no real hostility between Caswell and Sevier in spite of their official positions. They had been friends since 1776, and, when the British army was occupying the eastern part of the state in 1781, Caswell and his family sought refuge in the transmontane settlements.[50] On November 1, 1786, on April 23, 1787, and on November 15, 1787, the two men took out joint land grants in Greene County.[51] And during the entire life of Franklin they were corresponding privately concerning the Muscle Shoals region while they were sending formal public letters to each other. A typical letter, written by Caswell in February, 1787, states in part:

> Your favor on the Subject of our Tenesee Claims, I had the pleasure of receiving at Fayetteville in the Time of the Assemblys siting there, it gave me to know we were likely to derive advantages from that plan and the favorable point of view in which you have placed it, is very flattering. Messers. J. Gray Blount, Glasgow, Rutherford, Armstrong, Martin, Doherty & Nelson, Stokley Doleson [Donelson] and myself Convened together at Fayetteville when it was agreed that Col. Glasgow should repair to Georgia in the Course of the siting of the Assembly there this Month and as Agent for the Company Negociate the Business so as to Ascertain the Mode by which we are to Obtain our Title. . . .
>
> If you have received any further information respecting the Bent [the Great Bend of the Tennessee River] I shall be happy in knowing it by the return of my Son, who is the Bearer of this.
>
> I flatter myself with the prospect not only of seeing your County about 12 Months hence but also Cumberland and the Bent.[52]

Moreover, as we have seen, Franklin was continually planning some sort of expedition against the Indians who controlled the Great Bend region.

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[47]Abernethy, *Frontier to Plantation*, 87.

[48]*SRNC*, XXII, 693-94.

[49]Palmer, *et al.* (eds.), *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV, 432; Williams, *Lost State*, 210-17.

[50]Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War*, 202-03.

[51]Driver, *John Sevier*, 67-68.

[52]R. Caswell to John Sevier, February 27, 1787, Richard Caswell Collection (Duke University Library, Durham, N. C.).

That this was a matter of purely personal aggrandizement on the part of Sevier may be doubted. The plan was certainly supported by the people of Franklin. Out of a population of 25,000 Sevier was able to raise a force of 1,500 men in a week to unite with Georgia in a campaign against the Creeks, land in the Bend to be given to the troops as payment for their services—and this in November, 1787, when Franklin was on its last legs.[53] Expansion in this direction was natural for the land-hungry settlers in the valleys, hemmed in as they were by mountains on two sides and the lands of the Cherokees directly south. No devilish machinations by speculators were required to make them act.

It may safely be surmised that Sevier's initial hesitation to back the Franklin movement was due in part to his fears that it would interfere with development of the Great Bend region, and that he finally decided that it would be a help rather than a hindrance; but this does not make impossible the suppositions that in this case his private interest coincided with that of the Franks, and that he was also moved by a feeling of loyalty to his people.

Indeed the whole weakness of the speculative approach is to be found in the theory that the speculators such as Sevier were a group of underhanded men distinct from the guileless majority of westerners, and that therefore Sevier must have been working in opposition to the interests of the new state because he was at the same time a dealer in land. Actually, of course, the land speculator was not necessarily a heartless profiteer any more than was the merchant. Dealings in land appealed to almost every frontiersman, and it was lack of opportunity or initiative rather than moral scruples that kept many hands clean. Even Thomas Jefferson, who withdrew from a land company in 1782, gave as his reason not morals but diplomacy. He feared that if the title to the western territories was a subject for discussion at the Paris peace conference, his position as an interested party might injure his influence in the negotiations.[54]

Then as now, most men were willing to let an energetic neighbor run the most risks, do the most work, and make the most money, if they could only have a share in his good fortune. Many speculators were, to be sure, mere parasites, doing nothing for the frontiersmen they exploited. On the other hand, a man such as Richard Henderson, although he hoped to profit from the settlements in Kentucky and in Middle Tennessee, made those settlements possible by his financial and organizational support.

Sevier profited from the growth of the western country, but, after all, it was his leadership and fighting ability which helped to make the region prosperous. His dealings in land were not a secret; his friendship with Caswell was well known; and his personal interest in the Muscle Shoals

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[53]Williams, *Lost State*, 191-92, 276.

[54]Jefferson to James Madison, November 11, 1784, in Ford (ed.), *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, IV, 2.

region was a matter of public record.[55] Yet his fellows never rejected him as their leader. Some of his acts do not measure up to 20th-century ethical standards; some were not even legal under 18th-century North Carolina law. But for the most part his practices were in accord with the ethical code of the westerners, and should not be used to demonstrate that he was conspiring against his neighbors.

If this view is accepted, it becomes unnecessary to review in detail any further actions of Sevier in the story of Franklin. It may merely be added that in the same way the moderate policy of Caswell is not necessarily proof of his sole interest in the land. His desire for conciliation was not unnatural in view of the fact that he could not have used great force to put down the Frank state; not only did he not have the military forces required, but he had no desire to start a civil war.[56] Indeed, Williams assures us that his policy was a good one for breaking up the rebels, for:

> . . . had Martin succeeded himself as governor, it seems certain that the decision would have been favorable to the State of Franklin. Martin's policy would have taken color from his personal views which were derogatory of the western folk. . . , and he would have had to combat an opposition solidified thereby.[57]

CONCLUSION

Thus more or less by the process of elimination I draw the conclusion that the separatist explanation best fits the facts regarding the founding and history of the state of Franklin. As in most cases, there were few angels and few devils. The west was trying to free itself from control by the east, both in government and in economic matters. It wanted freedom to expand, freedom to regulate its Indian affairs, and freedom to control the land for the profit of its own members. The east, however, also had a vital stake in the western land—it was a gigantic gold mine—and naturally opposed the movement for separation. In the ensuing struggle, party lines were blurred as men found themselves bedeviled by different motives. Three, at least, are discernible in Sevier: desire for speculation; desire to lead the people who trusted him as their leader; and, near the end of the life of the new state, personal vanity in maintaining the project which he had led for four years. To expect him to reconcile these desires to the satisfaction of all future historians is absurd. The best we can do is to try to judge him, and his state, by the standards of the times, remembering that speculation was then the great American game.

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[55]Williams, *Tennessee During the Revolutionary War*, 203; Driver, *John Sevier*, 71.

[56]*SRNC*, XX, 703-04; XXII, 687.

[57]Williams, *Lost State*, 73.

THWARTED WARRIOR:

THE LAST YEARS OF THOMAS HART BENTON IN TENNESSEE, 1812-1815*

By William N. Chambers

Nearly fifteen years of Thomas Hart Benton's young-manhood were spent in Tennessee. The story of this period has never been fully told, though the man became famous as one of the first senators from Missouri, as Andrew Jackson's leading legislative lieutenant, as the great enemy of the United States Bank and friend of hard money, as the first man to serve in the Senate for thirty years, and as a radical Democrat to the day of his death.

Young Benton came to Tennessee with his family in 1801. He had been born near Hillsborough, North Carolina, in 1782, had grown up in a semi-Tory, seaboard atmosphere, had attended the University of North Carolina, and had been disgraced and expelled in his freshman year. Settling near Franklin, Williamson County, in Tennessee, he taught school, practiced law, wrote articles for the Nashville press demanding a reform of the Tennessee courts, served a term as state senator, and generally distinguished himself as a young man about the county. His frontier experiences countered the early conservative influences on his life, and helped mold him as a western leader with western views. His experiences in the years 1812-1815 helped broaden these perspectives, and also led to his decision to leave Tennessee, with the result that when Thomas Hart Benton became famous, he did so not as a Tennesseean but as a Missourian. After serving his thirty years in the Senate (1821-1851), and two years in the House (1853-1855), and writing and editing several books, he died in 1858.

This is the story of Thomas Hart Benton's experiences in the War of 1812—a colorful episode in his career, which reflects Tennessee's participation in the war in which she earned the name, the Volunteer State.

* * * * *

In the spring of 1811 Thomas Benton of Franklin, Tennessee, might have read in the Nashville *Democratic Clarion* an advertisement—"For sale in the Clarion office, price 75 cents the single, 50 cents by the dozen, *The Military Instructor,* Containing all Steuben's regulations for the decepline [*sic*] of an army, that can apply to the militia."[1]

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*This article is a continuation of William N. Chambers, "Thomas Hart Benton in Tennessee, 1801-1812," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), VIII (1949), 291-331, and both are studies toward a biography of Benton to be published soon.

[1]*Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* March 22, 1811. Hereafter cited as *Democratic Clarion.*

This card suggested the mood of the times, and young Benton's mood too. For the train of abuses and insults heaped on the young republic by a Tory government in England had convinced the men of the West at least that their local militias might soon have to prove their "decepline." At the end of January, 1812, Thomas Benton indicated where he stood. He sat down and wrote a letter to his friend Andrew Jackson, major general of the Tennessee militia—"In the event that a volunteer force should be raised, there is no question, I fancy, but that you will command the division which goes from this state; and as I have always been resolved to quit the gown for the sword, whenever the sword was to be used, I mean, on some terms or other, to be in that corps." The young man could raise troops, but he thought a more eligible situation would be as aide to the General—"the natural inclination which all young men feel, or ought to feel, to advance themselves in the world, has induced me to say to you, that if you should lack an officer of this kind, and should be able to find none better than myself, that I should deem myself honored by your approbation." In short, Benton was willing.[2]

The elaborate, self-consciously elegant sentences rolled on. If he were appointed and went on an expedition, young Benton would "make an experiment of my capacity to use the pen as well as the sword," by keeping a journal of the expedition and memorable transactions. "You Sir, who feel a generous wish to see young men come forward by their own intrinsic strength, will not smile at this presumption. . . .I think with Tacitus, that every man should aim at doing something worthy of being written, or at writing something worthy of being done."[3]

A bill to raise volunteers had passed the House thirteen days before Thomas Benton mailed his letter, and it passed the Senate the day after he wrote.[4] But the news did not reach the headlong border lawyer until a raw day in February, when the mail arrived at his law office. Immediately, he was at work drawing up a plan to put three volunteer regiments in the field. When he was finished, he saddled his horse and rode thirty miles to the Hermitage to see Andrew Jackson, charging through rain, hail, sleet, and wind, along poor roads deep in mud mixed with ice. The Major General was struck with the plan, and prepared to act upon its proposals.[5] But things did not go so quickly. In the capital, Representative Felix Grundy of Tennessee fretted that the chief of the army, old Henry Dearborn, was doing

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[2]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Nashville, January 30, 1812, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[3]*Ibid.*

[4]*Annals of Congress,* 12 Congress, 1 Session, 801, 112.

[5][Thomas H. Benton], *Addresses on the Presentation of the Sword of Gen. Andrew Jackson to the Congress of the United States* (Washington, 1855), 32-33. Hereafter cited as [Benton], *Addresses on the Sword.*

nothing,[6] and all official Washington seemed to "have the slows." In Tennessee the restless Benton had to content himself with lesser glory. On April 29, 1812, he received a commission as captain of a volunteer infantry company attached to the Twenty-First Regiment of the state militia. His brother Nathaniel Benton was his ensign.[7]

Promptly, the ambitious soldier found himself concerned, not with war against England but with raids by Indians. The red men, spurred on perhaps by England and Spain, carried out foray after foray against the white settlements. In May, for example, four Indians came into a lonely house in McSwine's Bottom on the Duck River south of Franklin, took a nine-day-old child from the lap of a woman who was sitting in the parlor, threw it against the wall and killed it, and shot the woman in the jaw and in the knee, scalped her, and jabbed arrows into her body, and then went on to find and kill other members of the family.[8] Young Thomas Benton, by this time promoted from captain to major, was ordered to Nashville by Colonel William P. Anderson to give his advice on ways of catching the Indians,[9] but though troops were sent promptly into the forest around Duck River they saw no red men and heard no red men.[10]

Finally, however, the war Thomas Benton waited for was declared. By June 18, 1812, the joint resolution had passed both houses[11]—finally even the pacific James Madison and his Congress had had enough from England. By Independence Day, the great news reached the Cumberland. In Franklin for the annual July 4 celebration, Thomas Benton could read in the Nashville paper—"*WAR*. By the mail last night we received the declaration of war against Great Britain. . . .

A day, an hour of virtuous liberty
Is worth an eternity in bondage."[12]

The crowd at the July Fourth meeting, swelled by the news of war, cheered and cheered the routine toasts, the repeated volleys fired by a company of light infantry, and the martial music. Among the volunteer toasts was one by Thomas Benton—"*The War against England: Honor and life to its friends: confusion to its enemies.*"[13]

In the midst of the exultation, young Major Benton planned action to

[6]Felix Grundy to Andrew Jackson, Washington, February 12, 1812, in John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 6 vols. and index (Washington, 1926-1933), I, 215.

[7]Commission Book, 1807-1812 (manuscript in Tennessee State Archives, Nashville, Tennessee), 266.

[8]*Democratic Clarion*, May 19, 1812.

[9]William P. Anderson to John Coffee, Nashville, May 19, 1812, Coffee Papers (Dyas Collection, Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville).

[10]*Democratic Clarion*, May 23, 1812.

[11]*Annals of Congress*, 12 Congress, 1 Session, 297, 1637.

[12]*Democratic Clarion*, July 4, 1812.

[13]*Ibid.*, July 8, 1812.

suit his resolution. With British agents stirring the red men to attack, the war against the Indians was now a part of the war with England; thus Major Benton was proud to be able to report to General Jackson that Captain Mason's company had met and defeated a troop of Creeks. He was "glad he has got some blood: it will keep the war alive." But more was needed, a full-scale expedition against the Creeks was necessary—and in the square at Franklin and on the roads the volunteer major talked with people and got them to agree that they would join such an expedition. The only question for the volunteers was the federal government—now that a great war had been declared, would it finally countenance a full-sized operation?[14]

The question was not immediately answered; meanwhile, the militia drilled, and waited for the word to be given.[15] Would there never be an end to marking time? Young Benton feared there would not, at least not soon enough to suit his ambition, his expanding hunger for drama and military glory. Thoroughly impatient, he resolved to go to Washington himself at the beginning of the session of Congress. The real theater of war was on the Canadian border. Perhaps some additional federal troops would be raised to go there; if so, the volunteer major would like extremely to have an appointment among them.[16] Fighting Indians was all right, but the British troops were the real enemy, and he longed like his idol Lord Chatham to be in the field and at 'em. Why must a man wrest from a reluctant officialdom the chance to fight his country's enemies?[17]

At last, the word *was* given, and Thomas Benton was again in a spin of action. The volunteers were called to form a state militia division, which in the federal service would go down the Mississippi to defend New Orleans, where a British attack was expected. "Every Man of the western Country turns his eyes intuitively upon the mouth of the Mississippi," General Jackson proclaimed to his citizen-soldiers in November, 1812: "He there beholds the only outlet by which his produce can reach the markets of foreign or the atlantic States: Blocked up, all the fruits of his industry rots upon his hand—open and he carries on a trade with all the nations of the earth."[18] If the diction and orthography were a bit faulty, the sentiment was appealing. The men of the Cumberland rose to the call, and made ready for a midwinter rendezvous at Nashville.[19]

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[14]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Franklin, July 4, 1812, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[15]Marquis James, *The Life of Andrew Jackson* (Garden City, 1940), 143-45.

[16]Thomas H. Benton to Henry Clay, Franklin, October 2, 1812, Henry Clay Papers (Library of Congress).

[17]*Cf.* Thomas H. Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," in *Thirty Years' View; or, A History of the Working of the American Government for Thirty Years, from* 1820 *to* 1850, 2 vols (New York, 1883), I, iii.

[18]Jackson's Announcement to His Soldiers, November 14, 1812, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 241-42.

[19]*Democratic Clarion,* December 15, 1812.

Young Major Benton was General Jackson's right arm in raising troops in the Franklin area. He made speech after speech,[20] dashing from muster ground to muster ground, waving the General's proclamation, ardently striving to stimulate the courage and patriotism of the community.[21]

His abilities were soon marked by Thomas Benton's comrades. On a cold Saturday late in November, 1812, the ninety men who were to be officers of the Second Division of Tennessee Volunteers met in Nashville. There the proposed division of 1,500 men was separated into one regiment of cavalry and two regiments of infantry, and the council of officers elected the field officers who would lead the expedition to New Orleans, naming Thomas H. Benton colonel of the Second Regiment, Infantry.[22] Promptly, the young commander provided himself with a gorgeous uniform. The enlisted men might appear, according to General Jackson's orders, in blue or butter-nut or brown, homespun or not, with hunting shirts or coats, and white pantaloons and vests to be worn on parade; but the field officers must wear the uniform of their grade as prescribed by the regular army.[23] When Colonel Benton put on his plumage, and mounted an elegant horse, his friends were sure he was the finest looking man on the continent.[24]

The division as a whole was called to muster on December 10. Companies in the various counties made ready, while the citizens of Williamson proved their ardor by raising five hundred dollars to equip their troops.[25] Finally, the day came—bitterly cold, truly the first day of winter, with a heavy snowfall which began in the morning and drove violently with the wind until night. Despite the weather, companies poured into Nashville in shoals until 1800 men had reported, and the next day, with the country still bound in snow, another two hundred volunteers arrived.[26]

Soon after the muster, Thomas Benton had another job—Andrew Jackson announced that Thomas H. Benton would perform the duty of "first Aid," in addition to acting as "colonel commandant" of the Second Regiment, Infantry.[27] The day before Christmas, Colonel Benton had his regiment organized, and could certify to the United States a roll of his field and staff officers, "destined for the defense of New Orleans and the low-countries."[28]

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[20]Thomas H. Benton to ?, Senate Chamber, [1837?], Benton Letters (Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia).

[21]Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," *loc. cit.*, iii.

[22]*Democratic Clarion*, November 23, 1812.

[23]General Orders, Hermitage, November 23, 1812, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 242-43.

[24]Thomas J. C. Fagg, "Thomas Hart Benton," *Missouri Historical Review* (Jefferson City), I (October, 1906), 23.

[25]*Democratic Clarion*, December 1, 1812.

[26]*Ibid.*, December 15, 1812.

[27]*Ibid.*, December 22, 1812.

[28]Muster Roll of Field and Staff Officers, Second Regiment, Tennessee Volunteers, December 24, 1812, in Benton Letters.

While the division made ready, the Colonel had a unique opportunity to indulge his sense of the dramatic. An unfortunate private, one Oliver Bush, deserted his company. Desertion was a grave danger to a militia corps, and when Bush was convicted General Jackson determined to make a bitter example of the first case he had had. At three in the afternoon of December 14 the two infantry regiments were drawn up along a front of a quarter of a mile. Young Oliver Bush, surrounded by bayonets which pointed at his back, his breast, and his sides, was conducted to the head of the line, followed by the music of the fife-and-drum. The guard halted the prisoner, the music stopped, and then the Officer of the Day on horseback—Thomas Benton—advanced and stopped before the first company. He must have been an imposing figure, with his tall, stout, but straight body, and his large head topped with wavy sandy hair. After a moment, he looked up at the company and spoke:[29]

> Soldiers, I am commanded by the general, to superintend the execution of the sentence which a court martial has pronounced upon Oliver Bush.
>
> Oliver Bush, a private in Captain Wallis's company of volunteers, has been convicted of the crime of desertion. By this crime, the most infamous which a volunteer could commit he has rendered himself unworthy of associating with the voluntary defenders of their country. The court martial have sentenced him to be expelled from the camp of the volunteers; and have forbid him ever again to enter it. The officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the volunteer corps are forbid ever again to associate with him; his crime having brought a disgrace upon their name which can only be wiped off by driving him eternally from their presence. In expelling him from the camp, in turning him loose, exposed to the scorn of his fellow citizens, which will pursue him wherever he goes, the court martial has pronounced upon Oliver Bush, the severest sentence which it was in their power to inflict.[30]

When Colonel Benton had finished, the music began again. The guard marched the prisoner to the next company, and the Colonel repeated his excoriation over Oliver Bush's head; and so on, through twenty-two companies, until the end of the line was reached. There, Oliver Bush was driven straight off at quick step, the rogue's march playing at his rear. When he was a mile and a half from camp, he was turned loose by the guard, his coat wrong side out, to face the hoots of the people wherever he went.[31]

Not only did Thomas Benton execute the sentence against Oliver Bush—he wrote out the whole story and gave it to the Nashville press. As aide-

[29] *Democratic Clarion*, December 22, 1812.
[30] *Ibid.*
[31] *Ibid.*

de-camp, he acted as a sort of public relations officer, and this job was strictly in the line of duty; but as he wrote, he could not help revealing between the lines that he relished his part both in the field and at his desk.[32]

By the beginning of 1813, the division was ready to move out to meet the British and drive them from the mouth of the Mississippi, in case they should succeed in effecting a landing at that point.[33] On January 8 Colonel Benton received orders from General Jackson to superintend the embarkation of the First Regiment, Infantry, down the Cumberland River and to march his own troops overland. At half past twelve, noon, the signal was given to slip the cables, and the flatboats wheeled into the Cumberland; looking on, Colonel Benton observed that every face was animated with joy. At one o'clock, the Second Regiment set out, with Colonel Benton marching on foot at the head of his seven hundred men. He summarily ordered all the private boats he could find along the way to be impressed into the public service, so his men too might be afloat before they left the Harpeth region.[34]

With the journey to New Orleans begun, Thomas Benton started to keep the journal he had promised he would write the year before.[35] As he wrote, he sent installments to the Nashville paper, in which he revealed himself as the owner of a rolling, Gibbonesque, if sometimes diffuse prose style.

After seeing his men on their way,[36] Colonel Benton at four in the morning turned back to Nashville. There he joined Colonel Anderson, who was on his way to take command of his regiment at Fort Massac on the Ohio. At midnight, the two colonels set out from Nashville by boat. "The

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[32]*Ibid.*

[33]*Ibid.*, January 19, 1813. Meanwhile, the troops were supposed to reinforce General Wilkinson at New Orleans, with a view to occupying Spanish-held West Florida.

[34]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Robertson's Landing, January 9, 1813, in *ibid.*

[35][Thomas H. Benton], "JOURNAL of a Voyage from Nashville, Ten., to New Orleans in the winter of the year 1813, by the Tennessee Volunteers under the command of Gen. Jackson," in *The Clarion*, February 9, 1813. (On this date the name of the *Democratic Clarion* was changed to *The Clarion.*)

The authorship of this JOURNAL is readily established. It contains internal evidence, in references to the feelings and emotions of Colonel Benton as well as details of his doings which could have been known only by him, and which perhaps in addition would have been of interest only to him. Further, it was the basis of an attack in the papers on Thomas Benton by William B. Lewis, in which Lewis called Benton the author, and in the outcome of which Benton did not deny but rather assumed the responsibility of authorship. *Cf. The Clarion*, February 23, May 5, 1813. Finally, the style of the JOURNAL, if immature and arty, is still early Bentonian. The Colonel mentions himself only in the third person. The JOURNAL has not been used by any Benton biographer or, so far as the writer has discovered, by any other scholar. The compiler of Andrew Jackson's correspondence notes that Thomas Benton intended to write a journal, but appears not to have known whether he ever did and in any case not to have seen a copy. Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 256.

[36]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Robertson's Landing, January 9, 1813, in *Democratic Clarion*, January 19, 1813.

night was intensely cold," Thomas Benton wrote in his journal,

> but still, and nothing was heard to interrupt the silence that reigned save the hollow murmuring of the water which broke upon the rocky shore. . . .Col. Anderson placed himself at the helm; the other officers stood by him. No one said he was afraid; but the question of Caesar to the pilot, *Quid times?* repeatedly and involuntarily occurred. Finally, recollecting that they were fatalists, they gave the boat to the stream, surrendered themselves to their destiny, and went below to the cabin.—Having floated two hours, they came to for the balance of the night.[37]

Five days later, at Clarksville, sixty-seven miles downstream from Nashville, Thomas Benton stopped to wait for his regiment. The division was short of flour, and General Jackson commanded his aide to secure some from merchants he knew were hoarding it. The impetuous Colonel Benton "sent out the bayonet," and soon "this weapon had produced him 70 barrels of flour," at eight dollars a barrel. But ten days were lost for want of boats, which meant that the whole division would finally be delayed that long. And all because the quartermaster had left boats in the hands of business men who wanted them to get their private inventories to market![38] Sitting at his diary, Thomas Benton calculated that the delay would cost the United States $20,000. Why, he asked himself, should not a commanding general have control over all his officers, including his quartermaster? "As things stand at present," he wrote in a passage he sent to the Nashville *Clarion,* "if an army is stopped on its march for want of bread, or stuck in the mud for want of transportation, all that the general can do is to send a complaint to the president, perhaps a thousand miles off; the delinquent commissary, or Quarter Master, at the same time sends his counter-affadavit." Meanwhile, "the season for action passes entirely away."[39]

By January 23 boats had been found and everyone was anxious to catch up. On the way down the Cumberland that night, the boats ran into a storm—

> Suddenly the sky was overspread with thick clouds, and squalls of wind and rain drove at intervals with great violence. The steersmen were driven from the helm; & the boats floated at random. Still it was deemed practicable to go on . . . . Having floated for two hours in this way, the boats received a sudden shock, and the officers rushed to the bow; but the darkness was so impenetrable

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[37][Benton], "JOURNAL of a Voyage," Entry of January 10, in *The Clarion,* February 9, 1813.

[38]Entries of January 15, 17, *ibid.,* February 16, 1813.

[39]Entry of January 17, *ibid.*

> that they could not see upon what they had struck. Nothing was distinguishable until candles were brought. It was then perceived that they had been driven stern foremost against the left bank.

The boats were pushed off, and they went on until they had reached an island area where passes could not be distinguished without light.[40]

By noon the next day, the boats had crossed into Kentucky. Finally, at dark on January 26, the regiment reached Smithland, a little town at the confluence of the Cumberland and the Ohio.[41] The big river was a mass of crushing, grinding ice floes, and the old timers at Smithland advised against entering the stream. "It rested with Col. Benton. . . to decide. He had never before felt the responsibility of command; and his anxiety became painful as he reflected that upon a word which he was to speak, it might depend whether a multitude of fine men should perish in the ice, or live to see their friends again." Finally, he gave the word to go ahead, after securing long poles spiked with iron to keep off the sheets of ice. "The order," the Colonel noted, "was obeyed with perfect alacrity"[42]—and so the regiment was on its way to the great Mississippi River, on its way to a planned rendezvous with General Jackson at Natchez.[43]

By the morning of January 31, the banks of the Ohio were falling wider apart. Soon, the dark brown highway of the Mississippi was before the little flotilla, and one by one the flatboats were caught in it and carried downstream. Above New Madrid, in the vast, unsettled Missouri Territory, the regiment stopped and Colonel Benton wrote his General a letter. Every exertion was being made to catch up, and the boats were putting off at daybreak and stopping just in time to tie up at dark; it was unsafe to navigate the river with its treacherous sawyers and shifting sandbars without light.[44] Progress down the Mississippi was swift. By the evening of February 13, 1813, three days before the cavalry arrived, Colonel Benton and his command met General Jackson at Natchez on the lower Mississippi.[45]

Given a few days and the 2,070 men[46] could go on as a body to New Orleans. There, Andrew Jackson, Thomas H. Benton, and their fellow ambitious Tennesseeans might strike the first decisive blow of a generally indecisive and discouraging war.[47] But the vision of glory was not to be realized. The volunteers made camp near Natchez, or Natchey as General

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[40]Entry of January 23, *ibid.*, March 9, 1813.
[41]Entry of January 26, *ibid.*
[42]Entry of January 27, *ibid.*
[43]*Ibid.* In this edition the JOURNAL stops.
[44]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Some Miles above New Madrid, Monday Night, February 1, 1813, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).
[45]Andrew Jackson to James Wilkinson, Natchez, February 16, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 276.
[46]*Ibid.*
[47]*Cf.* [Benton], *Addresses on the Sword*, 34-35.

Jackson sometimes wrote it—and there they waited for orders—and waited . . .and waited.[48]

It was a wearisome time, devoted to routine garrison tasks. On the night of February 27, when the troops had been at Natchez a month and a half, Thomas Benton was making the grand round of guard posts as Officer of the Day. When he came to Captain Terrill's post, he was arrested because Captain Terrill did not recognize the countersign. The Colonel was sure that Captain Terrill acted out of a sense of duty, and he related the occurrence to General Jackson only to explain his failure to make a second grand round.[49] On the afternoon of February 28, the Colonel found that one of his companies was out of meat, "on account of bad pork received from the contractor which was thrown away by his men," and there were deficiencies of meal and meat in some of the ten other companies, too.[50]

And so on. . .and so on. . .until word finally came from the War Department. On February 5 Secretary John Armstrong had written Major General Andrew Jackson,[51] and on March 15, the orders finally reached him at the volunteers' camp.[52] That afternoon, Colonel Benton received a message to come to the General's tent. There, the ramrod-thin commander, stiff with rage, showed him the Secretary's note[53]—the British were no longer expected at New Orleans that winter, and General Jackson would disband his troops *where he was,* dismissing them from public service. Meanwhile, he would accept the thanks of the President of the United States![54] With the full agreement of his aide-de-camp, General Jackson determined not to obey the order to turn his men loose in the wilderness five hundred miles from their homes. He would lead his volunteers as a body back to Nashville and discharge them there—if he had to pay the transportation costs himself![55]

In a few days, the division was on the weary road home. Slowly the troops crawled north, along the Natchez Trace, through the Choctaw nation,[56] balked, thwarted, the fine chance at glory on which they had so much counted, all gone.[57]

But the trip down the Mississippi and back to Nashville was not a complete loss to Thomas Benton, at least. On the journey he discovered

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[48]Andrew Jackson to James Wilkinson, Cantonment Near Washington, February 20, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 277.

[49]Report of the Officer of the Day to General Jackson, Camp of Volunteers Near Washington, February 27, 1813, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[50]Report on Provisions by Thomas H. Benton, [February 28, 1813], in *ibid.*

[51]John Armstrong to Andrew Jackson, Washington, February 5, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 275.

[52]Andrew Jackson to John Armstrong, Camp of Volunteers Near Washington, Mississippi Territory, March 15, 1813, in *ibid.*, 291.

[53][Benton], *Addresses on the Sword*, 35.

[54]John Armstrong to Andrew Jackson, Washington, February 5, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 275-76.

[55][Benton], *Addresses on the Sword*, 35-36.

[56]*The Clarion*, March 30, 1813.

[57][Benton], *Addresses on the Sword*, 37.

and realized the vastness and importance of the great West beyond the Mississippi. In a sense, Thomas Benton was thirty before he found himself. The West beyond the great continental artery was the future, a potential paradise of prosperous freeholding farmers, a coming Arcadia on the Jeffersonian model. But Thomas Benton had to see the vast-flowing river and the black land beyond before he broke entirely from his seaboard background and from the lawyer's shell of precedent and safe usage.[58]

If Thomas Benton did not realize his passion to trim the Imperial lion's claws, he found a fight of another kind on his hands when he returned to Nashville. It was a purely personal matter, but one that touched his pride and even the question of his literary skill.

It began with the remarks the Colonel had made about quartermasters in his journal. When Major William B. Lewis read these opinions,[59] his blood rose—*he* was the deputy quartermaster for the volunteer division, and he was sure the remarks were aimed at him. He immediately sat down to write the most insulting letter possible in reply, identifying the author of the journal and burlesquing him—"Most inimitable Journalist!—'He mounts his stilts, and at every step, kicks out a star!' " Safe in Nashville, Major Lewis gave himself free reign sporting at the absent Benton's expense. To be sure, *he* had never walked a dozen miles at the head of his regiment, "and that too, for the sole purpose of being gazetteered"; but then he had never been guilty either of sublime rhapsodies on the faintly glimmering beams of the moon! And what was this *"Quid times"* business when the boat left Nashville? "It is true, *I suppose,"* the Major wrote with juvenile sarcastic emphasis, "that no one *said* he was *afraid,* but, why turn *pale?* Why *tremble?"*[60]

If Major Lewis did not answer the charges he thought aimed at him, he managed at once to impugn Colonel Benton's motives and courage, and to roast his literary excesses. One of the Colonel's friends printed a reply the next week. He pointed out with annoying logic that Colonel Benton had named no names, so that "no man sir unless his conscience was both tender and sore could have discovered insinuations there." As for Thomas Benton, he *did* stay up nights looking after his soldiers, as a good officer should, and he hardly lacked courage for he had volunteered to go out and fight.[61]

Here the war of words rested until the returning troops paraded through Nashville on April 22. Everyone was proud of the division's chief, General Jackson, and Thomas Benton in particular praised and exalted

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[58]Jessie Benton Fremont, "Biographical Sketch of Senator Benton in Connection with Western Expansion," in John Charles Fremont, *Memoirs of My Life* (Chicago and New York, 1887), I, 2.

[59]*The Clarion,* February 16, 1813.

[60]*Ibid.,* February 23, 1813.

[61]*Ibid.,* March 2, 1813.

his General's glory. At dinner with a group of fellow officers at Clayton Talbot's tavern in Nashville, he spoke of the solicitude Andrew Jackson felt for his men and of his magnanimity in refusing to discharge them into the wilderness at Natchez.[62] But Colonel Benton came in for his share of praise, too, at least in the *Clarion*—"in the late expedition he shared every fatigue with the most common soldier, and in no case shunned the mire his men had to wade through. In camp his police was admired by all—we hope he may have an opportunity of signalizing himself in the field." Unlike some of the other officers, Colonel Benton planned to pursue the course of arms until the war was won.[63]

Meanwhile, Thomas Benton had seen the *Clarion* with Major Lewis's letter in it, and he was in a passion. The afternoon he arrived in Nashville, at four o'clock exactly, tired and dusty from the journey as he was, he wrote Major Lewis. "Words are not to be employed," he fumed; "I shall neither give nor take explanations: my mind is made up, and you must fight me sir. . . .I lay before you the pistol, the sword, and the dagger: take which you like." There was no time to waste, for he planned to leave the state, he declared, as he dispatched his messenger, Ensign Lyttleton Johnston. The meeting should be in Kentucky in two or three days, or at sun up if Lewis wanted it in Tennessee.[64] The nimble Major sidestepped. He couldn't fight, because he was too busy disposing of public property left over from the expedition; when this business was done, he would indulge the Colonel in his propensity.[65]

Such dodging would not do for Thomas Benton. Within the hour, on Friday afternoon, he sat down at his desk in the camp near Nashville and answered Lewis's note. The Major was as much in the public service when he penned his insults as he was now, and, "in a word you must fight me sir or you must flinch openly. I give you until the rising of the sun on Tuesday morning." He had said he was leaving the state. To delay was to say that, as Lewis had attacked the Colonel when he was 500 miles to the south, he would fight when Benton was 500 miles to the north.[66] When Major Lewis once again regretted that he just couldn't say when he might fight, the impatient Benton decided that Lewis was *"a cockaded and gold-laced coward."* He rode to the printer's in Nashville, had all the correspondence set up and run off, and distributed it as a handbill.[67]

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[62]Statement of William Quarles, Nashville, July 21, 1813, Jackson Papers (Chicago Historical Society).

[63]*The Clarion*, April 27, 1813.

[64]Thomas H. Benton to William B. Lewis, Nashville, April 22, 1813, in *ibid.*, May 5, 1813.

[65]William B. Lewis to Thomas H. Benton, Nashville, April 23, 1813, in *ibid.*

[66]Thomas H. Benton to William B. Lewis, Contonment Near Nashville, April 23, 1813, in *ibid.*

[67]Duel Correspondence Circular, April, 1813, copy in Benton Papers (Missouri Historical Society).

This nettled Major Lewis, who now tried a few defiant drumbeats of his own. He *would* meet the Colonel, *sometime*—and hadn't Thomas Benton in publishing his leaflet taken an easy, safe way out of the situation?[68]

If William B. Lewis really thought he could get away with this, he didn't know Thomas H. Benton. Sitting at his candle about nine o'clock that night, the Colonel snapped back a note—he would postpone his trip if Lewis would name the day, the hour, and the place; it might be any day soon, any hour, any place. As to the accounts, the Colonel knew this was fiddle-faddle. He had talked with many people who told him they had been paid or put off with frivolous pretexts. *Now*, what would the Major do?[69] The Major, very simply, declined once more to be definite.[70]

This was Thomas Benton's first experience, or near-experience, with what was known as the field of honor. He now gave the whole of the Benton-Lewis correspondence to his friend the Nashville editor. He was ashamed, he told the "PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE," of staying to settle a personal quarrel when the republic was attacked, but his *honor* had required it. Now he was going away, to seek an active, *honorable* place in the war. He could not resist a final melodramatic flourish—"if the chances of war prevent me from returning, suffer me not to be lied out of your friendship by men without honor, without shame, without public character."[71] If he had been somewhat over-wrought in the whole affair, if it was all a bit absurd, Thomas Benton had nonetheless bested his adversary without loading a pistol.

With this letter-writing wonder out of the way, the young Colonel was free to pursue his martial ambitions. He was on his way to Washington to seek a new military career with some action in it. Before he left, he rode by the Hermitage to get a letter of introduction to the Secretary of War from Major General Jackson, praising him for "having abandoned a profitable profession, for the tented fields." The General knew at first hand Thomas Benton's fitness to command—"his uniform good conduct, his industry and attention to the dicipline [*sic*] and police of his regiment speak more for his fitness than words, and a personal acquaintan[c]e with Colo. Benton will soon decide on the capacity of his mind." Once again, the orthography was faulty but the sentiment good.[72]

The Colonel planned to do something for his General in return. All of Andrew Jackson's drafts for money to pay the expenses of bringing his division back from Natchez had been refused payment by the auditors at

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[68]William B. Lewis to Thomas H. Benton, Nashville, April 26, 1813, in *The Clarion*, May 5, 1813.
[69]Thomas H. Benton to William B. Lewis, Nashville, April 26, 1813, in *ibid.*
[70]William B. Lewis to Thomas H. Benton, Nashville, April 27, 1813, in *ibid.*
[71]*The Clarion*, May 5, 1813.
[72]Andrew Jackson to John Armstrong, Hermitage, May 10, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 307.

New Orleans; and now Thomas Benton undertook to present the General's case again at the national capital.[73]

It was a long trip to Washington. The Colonel left Nashville on May 10, journeyed past Knoxville, and across the mountains and down the Virginia Tidewater, until at last on May 26 he was at the capital.[74]

Certainly the town with its muddy streets, unfinished buildings and provincial ways, was no city to compare with New York or Philadelphia. But to Thomas Benton, who had never seen a larger place, it might have been another London. The young man got his first glimpse of the national Congress in action in the Capitol; it all seemed very slow, and he could smell the political intrigue that hung over every maneuver. He visited some of the departments, noticing particularly how the War Department machinery creaked along, and he chatted at the White House with mild, little President Madison, who asked carefully after General Andrew Jackson's health.[75]

After almost twenty days of conferences, delays, and just plain waiting, the Colonel was at last able to accomplish something. He managed to convince Secretary of War Armstrong that there must be some place for a willing young man in the war, and that Tennessee would gladly put more men in the field. And, carefully combining dynamite with diplomacy, he proved himself a successful lobbyist for General Jackson's claims—only, however, by working out himself a scheme for payment which he managed to get the Secretary to adopt. He wrote triumphantly to his mentor, saying that he hoped to be on his way home in a few days, his business finished and a new career before him.[76]

By June 18 Thomas Benton's new appointment was confirmed by the Senate. Under the newly commissioned Colonel John Williams of East Tennessee, a political enemy of Andrew Jackson,[77] he was to serve as lieutenant colonel of the Thirty-Ninth Infantry Regiment, regular army—a regiment whose flesh would have to be recruited back in Tennessee. One of his ensigns was to be a young man from the Cumberland region named Sam

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[73][Benton], *Addresses on the Sword*, 37.

[74]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Franklin, July 25, 1813, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[75]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Washington, June 15, 1813, *ibid.*

[76]*Ibid.* Remembering and recounting this incident many years later, Colonel Benton said that he had to threaten the Administration with the loss of the political support of the state of Tennessee, in order to get the War Department to honor General Jackson's claim. [Benton], *Addresses on the Sword*, 38. This sounds a little like frontier exaggeration, for no reference to any such threat appears in the letter the Colonel wrote Andrew Jackson from Washington at the time. Nonetheless, the story is repeated and apparently given its face value in the chief biography of Thomas Benton. William M. Meigs, *Life of Thomas Hart Benton* (Philadelphia, 1904), 71-72. And the earliest biographer of Thomas Benton also summarizes this account and appears to accept it as accurate. Theodore Roosevelt, *Thomas H. Benton* (Boston, 1899), 29.

[77]*Cf.* Thomas P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 241.

Houston.[78] For his services Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Benton, USA, would receive $1,543.08 a year, while his privates would get $96.00 each for the same period.[79] Two days later Thomas Benton wrote out his acceptance—the commission had reached him at Crawford's in Georgetown, on the bluffs overlooking the Potomac above Washington.[80] In another two days, the young man was on his way home.[81]

Back in the Cumberland, there was news, disturbing, and startling. His younger brother Jesse, of whom Thomas had written that he expected him to do something in the war or perish, told him that he very nearly *had* perished, but in a way quite different from the heroic one Thomas had envisioned.[82] The erratic Jesse had agreed to serve as Ensign Lyttleton Johnston's second in a challenge to Major William Carroll, thereby returning the favor Ensign Johnston had done Thomas in his affair with Major Lewis.[83] But the Johnston-Carroll quarrel had not ended as peaceably as the Benton-Lewis affair. For reasons of his own, Major Carroll refused to honor Ensign Johnston's challenge.[84] When he heard this, Jesse Benton tartly suggested to Carroll that he himself might stand in Johnston's place; if the Major would not meet the Ensign, surely he would not refuse Jesse Benton of Benton Town.[85]

To Major Carroll, this was all a great weariness. He called on General Jackson, who tried to dissuade Jesse Benton by insisting that he, Jesse, had no quarrel with Carroll. But young Jesse, with all his brother's impetuousness and none of Thomas's judgment or style, would have none of such pacifications. The duel was set, with General Jackson acting as Billy Carroll's second and arranging the details of the meeting. The men fought on June 14. Both were wounded, young Jesse Benton dangerously.[86] When the command to fire was given, Jesse, frightened, pulled his trigger, turned his back to Carroll, and quickly assumed a low squatting position, so that the Major's ball lodged in the very widest part of Jesse Benton's frame.[87]

When Thomas Benton heard all this on his arrival at Nashville, he exploded. Perhaps Jesse had no quarrel with Billy Carroll, perhaps young Jesse had played the poltroon by making a bullseye of the seat of his pants,

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[78]*Complete Regular Army Register of the United States . . .* 1779 *to* 1879 (Washington, 1881), 121, 167.

[79]*Ibid.*, 191.

[80]Thomas H. Benton to General Armstrong, Crawford's, Georgetown, June 20, 1813, Correspondence of the Adjutant General's Office (National Archives, Washington).

[81]Thomas H. Benton to Henry Clay, Crawford's, Georgetown, June 22, 1813, Henry Clay Papers.

[82]*The Clarion*, June 15, 1813.

[83]William Carroll to A. J. Donelson, October 4, 1824, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 311, n. 1.

[84]William Carroll to Jesse Benton, Nashville, June 11, 1813, in *ibid.*, 311.

[85]Jesse Benton to William Carroll, Nashville, June 12, 1813, in *ibid.*, 312.

[86]*The Clarion*, June 15, 1813.

[87]William Carroll to A. J. Donelson, October 4, 1824, *loc. cit.*

perhaps poor Jesse was a fool in general; but family feeling required the proud, ambitious, newly-appointed lieutenant colonel to take Jesse's side. He was particularly angry at Andrew Jackson. Why, on the very day the General had been superintending the shooting of his brother, Thomas Benton was in the War Department in Washington pleading the General's case![88]

Still, the Colonel picked no quarrels. He stayed at Franklin, keeping himself remarkably close for a usually vociferous and high-rolling young man;[89] but this did not keep the local gossips from rattling, and soon rumors reached the Hermitage that the Colonel had been making ill-natured remarks against the General.[90] As a matter of fact, back in Franklin Thomas Benton had said to intimates that Andrew Jackson had been hypocritical in pretending friendship to both Carroll and Jesse.[91] Now the General sent an ominous note to his ex-aide—had Benton threatened to make a publication against Jackson? had Benton spoken disrespectfully of Jackson? and finally had Benton threatened to challenge Jackson to a duel?[92]

When he received this note, the Colonel took a grip on himself and sat down to compose a reply. What he had said, he wrote, "may be reduced to three or four heads." He *had,* he wrote (though he took a great many words to tell it), said *one,* that it was poor business for a man of Jackson's age to conduct a duel between two young men; and, *two,* that Jackson had meanly drawn the challenge from Brother Jesse; and, *three,* "that if you could not have prevented a duel you ought at least to have conducted it in the usual mode, and on terms equal to both parties;" and, *four,* that Jackson had on the contrary conducted it in "a savage, unequal, unfair, and base manner." He had not challenged Andrew Jackson, but "the terror of your pistols is not to seal my lips." What Thomas Benton thought was true, he would speak, without either seeking or declining a duel.[93]

When the Colonel folded, sealed, and posted his letter, he knew that his friendship with the Caliph of the Cumberland was ended. In reply, General Jackson read the young man a homily—"It is the character of the man of honor, and particularly of the *soldier* not to quarrel and brawl like the fish woman."[94]

So the matter rested throughout the hot days of August, and so it

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[88]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Franklin, July 25, 1813, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[89]Thomas H. Benton to Henry Clay, Franklin, August 23, 1813, Henry Clay Papers.

[90]Andrew Hynes to Andrew Jackson, Nashville, July 16, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 309-10.

[91]Statement of Lemuel P. Montgomery, n. p., n. d., Jackson Papers (Chicago Historical Society).

[92]Andrew Jackson to Thomas H. Benton, Hermitage, July 19, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 310.

[93]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Franklin, July 25, 1813, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[94]Andrew Jackson to Thomas H. Benton, Hermitage, July [28 or later], 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* I, 314.

might have passed off altogether. But on September 4, Thomas and Jesse Benton came to Nashville on business, and put up at Talbot's Hotel, an inn they knew General Jackson did not frequent.[95] The town gossips, perhaps anxious for a brawl, and perhaps anxious to see Thomas Benton trimmed down, rushed to the Hermitage to tell the news. Soon, the General and his oak-tall friend Colonel John Coffee arrived and took rooms at the Nashville Inn. They then walked to the postoffice, and on their return they went out of their way to pass the hotel where the Bentons were,[96] where they saw Jesse Benton step from the pavement into the hotel. Promptly Jackson and Coffee followed Jesse Benton inside, and there in the hall near the back portico of Talbot's the General came face to face with Thomas Benton.

"Now defend yourself you damned rascal!" Jackson cried.[97]

The words were a fuse which set off a paroxysm of gunfire, pushing, pulling, wrestling, fist-fighting, shoving, gouging, stabbing, and jabbing. The General drew a pistol from under his coat,[98] and strode toward Thomas. Promptly, Jesse aimed and fired on Andrew Jackson from a sort of ambush in the bar-room next to the passage, while Jackson shot at Thomas, and Thomas drew his gun and fired twice at the General in return. In the crash of pistols, Jackson toppled to the floor, blood spurting from his left arm, while the muzzle-blast of his weapon seared a hole in Thomas's coat sleeve. The towering Colonel Coffee now charged through the smoke. He blazed away at Thomas, but his ball slashed harmlessly past the young man's head into the wall.[99]

By this time three other men were in the battle. The struggling, weaving figures lunged through the hall and into the bar-room. Disarmed, Thomas found John Coffee and Alexander Donaldson rushing him with drawn daggers, while Jesse was attacked by Charles Hammond with a dagger and by the gigantic Stokeley Hays with a sword cane. Retreating backwards down the hall, the Colonel received five slight knife wounds. In the bar-room, Hammond and Hays got Jesse on his back and stabbed at him while he tried to parry the blades with his bare hands. He was saved only when another warrior, James Sumner, rushed in and helped drive off his attackers. In the struggle Jesse clapped a pistol to the body of Stokeley Hays to blow him through, but the gun missed fire.[100]

The melee now came to its peak. Fending off the daggers and clubbed

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[95]*Account of a Duel with General Jackson*, Circular by Thomas H. Benton, September 10, 1813 (Tennessee Historical Society).

[96]James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson*, 3 vols. (New York, 1860), I, 393.

[97]Certificate of James W. Sitler, Nashville, September 5, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 317.

[98]*Ibid.*

[99]*Account of a Duel with Andrew Jackson*, Circular by Thomas H. Benton.

[100]*Ibid.*

pistols of John Coffee and Alexander Donaldson, the bulky, dignified, imperial Thomas Benton managed to fall backwards down a flight of stairs at the rear of the hotel.[101]

This bit of slapstick ended the engagement, and now General Jackson was discovered lying, bleeding, in the back door.[102] The man who had advised his junior officer against brawling like fish women had precipitated a fray in which he very nearly lost his own life. He was carried from Talbot's to the Nashville Inn, where he soaked two mattresses through with his blood. Meanwhile, Thomas and Jesse Benton strutted in front of Talbot's, denouncing General Jackson as an assassin and a defeated assassin at that, defying him to come out and renew the battle. Finally Thomas Benton took to the public square a sword of Jackson's he had found, and ceremoniously broke it in two in front of the watching crowd.[103]

From his position as a rising star in the community, Thomas Benton was suddenly reduced to the place of a pariah. Soon after the brawl, he wrote—"I am literally in hell here." He had the meanest wretches under heaven to contend with, liars, affidavit makers, and shameless cowards, for all the puppies of Jackson were at work on him. Truly, he thought, "the scalping-knife of Tecumpsy is mercy compared with the affidavits of these villians." Nothing but a decisive duel could save him, "for it is a settled plan to turn out puppy after puppy to bully me, and when I have got into a scrape, to have me killed somehow in the scuffle." He saw no alternative but to kill or be killed, for he would not crouch to Jackson.[104]

Before the brawl was two weeks past, Thomas Benton thought his decisive duel was at hand. The man with whom the whole business began, Major Billy Carroll, published a statement of his position. Thomas Benton interpreted this as a challenge to himself, and wrote Carroll—"The challenge which you addressed to me in your publication of yesterday is accepted."[105]

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[101]James, *Jackson*, 153.

[102]Certificate of James W. Sitler, Nashville, September 5, 1813, *loc. cit.*, 317.

[103]Parton, *Jackson*, I, 394-95. The account given here of the brawl with Andrew Jackson is based chiefly on Thomas Benton's circular in which he sets forth the story in characteristic fashion, with each item numbered, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. In addition other authorities have been used to fill out the picture, as indicated. The story of the affair which appears in most published works follows Parton, who says that he had his account of the business orally from an old friend of the parties who in turn got it directly from Colonel Coffee—when, Parton does not say. *Ibid.*, 396. Now, Thomas Benton's account appeared six days after the event, and therefore seems better evidence than an oral reminiscence, told and retold and finally put in print in 1860, and Parton himself reprints the Colonel's circular with the note that his account is, perhaps, as true as Colonel Coffee's. *Ibid.*, 397-98. Of course, it must be admitted that the brawl was something not even *witnesses* could have described uniformly and with complete accuracy, and certainly the descriptions of participants can give only partial and biased pictures. The only solution, and the one attempted here, seems to be that of giving a reconstruction, carefully built from a comparison and dovetailing of all accounts into the one chiefly followed.

[104]Thomas H. Benton to ?, n.p., n.d., quoted in *ibid.*, 395-96.

[105]Thomas H. Benton to William Carroll, September 16, 1813, Jackson Papers, Second Series (Library of Congress).

But Major Carroll disappointed the anxious young man, by replying that he was sorry if his remarks had corroded Thomas Benton's feelings, but he did not see how they could be misunderstood. He challenged no one, though he would meet Benton if Benton challenged him.[106] No fight took place to drain off the ill feeling, and the feuding parties went on being angry at each other.

Meanwhile, on September 14, 1813, the *Clarion* ran a notice—"The Officers attached to the 39th U. S. Regt. of Infantry, are required forthwith to repair to Nashville—John Williams, Col. Commandant."[107] The regiment's second-in-command, Thomas Benton, had gone down to Franklin after his brawl with Andrew Jackson.[108] The *Clarion*-call now brought him back to Nashville, with visions of glory once again marching in his head. When finally the new regiment was formed and trained, he hoped, he and Colonel Williams might lead them into the heart of the fighting on the Canadian border.[109] The young man could not know that he would never see the St. Lawrence he longed to cross.[110]

Disappointments began at once. While Thomas Benton was helping organize the Thirty-Ninth, news came from Fort Mims, far to the south near Mobile Bay in Mississippi Territory.[111] A party of Creek warriors, spurred by the British and the Spanish, had murdered upwards of three hundred settlers including women and helpless children. Immediately Andrew Jackson, physically weakened as he was, called for "retaliatory vengeance" and ordered his volunteers to rendezvous on September 24.[112] By November, the troops were in the field, and at Tallasahatchie and at Talledega, towns

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[106]William Carroll to Thomas H. Benton, September 16, 1813, in *ibid.* The story has been widely circulated that Thomas Benton was scared out of Nashville, and out of Tennessee, by General Jackson and his puppies, or that he left the area immediately because of the fight. One biography of Andrew Jackson broadly implies this (Parton, Jackson, I, 396), and another excellent study says—"Friends [of Jackson] vowed to even the score. 'I'm literally in hell here,' Tom Benton wrote and left town." James, *Jackson*, 154. But a man who will not crouch, and who vows to kill or be killed, and looks for a duel to settle the score himself, does not sound like one who is ready to be scared out of town. And the fact is that "Tom" (no where in any contemporary account or record the writer has seen does the usage "Tom" appear) did not leave town—he was in and near Nashville on September 12, on November 22, and until at least the middle of December, 1813. *Cf.* below. That Thomas Benton *two years later*, when the war was over, removed to Missouri because he felt his opportunities in Tennessee were curtailed or eliminated because he was on the outs with Jackson, is possible. But the evidence available leaves this proposition only a conjecture, and no more.

[107]*The Clarion*, September 14, 1813.

[108]*Account of a Duel with Andrew Jackson*, Circular by Thomas H. Benton.

[109]Thomas H. Benton to William P. Anderson, Franklin, November 22, 1813, Coffee Papers.

[110]Thomas H. Benton to George W. Campbell, Camp Anderson, Near Nashville, December 10, 1813, Correspondence of the Adjutant General's Office.

[111]James Truslow Adams (ed.), *Atlas of American History* (New York, 1943), plates 88-89.

[112]General Orders of Andrew Jackson, September 19. 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 319-20.

a hundred or so miles below the Tennessee border near the Georgia line,[113] the militia met and defeated the Creeks under Chief Red Eagle.[114]

Had Thomas Benton remained in the volunteers, he might have gone on these avenging adventures. As it was, while his old comrades won glory in battle, the young lieutenant-colonel faced the prosaic task of recruiting and training a new command; the victories were going to men like Billy Carroll, now a colonel, John Coffee, now a brigadier general, "and other puppies of the Genl. [Jackson]!" Young Benton would have given half his earthly goods to be with Colonel Anderson on the St. Lawrence. "Like you I have taken up the sword to learn the trade of a soldier," he wrote; "and this is nowhere to be learnt but. . .upon a theatre which affords scope for action and employment." To a man hankering for action, waiting was torture![115]

The weeks dragged on, and the Colonel found himself still at Camp Anderson near Nashville. While he trained his 300 men, he wrote the Adjutant General that he would be gratified to find the Thirty-Ninth next summer on the Canadian border. He did not want his term of service to pass away "in the performance of mere parade duties." From Nashville to Lake Erie, he argued, was not more than a thirty days march, after which it would be but a few days journey by water to the scene of battle.[116]

The weeks stretched out into months, 1813 gave way to 1814, but at last the Thirty-Ninth was ready to march. It was ordered south to join General Jackson, and to reinforce a militia that was meeting reverses and melting away,[117] despite victories over the warriors or Red Sticks at Emuckfaw and Enotachopco.[118] By the beginning of February Thomas Benton and his regiment were with the volunteers near Fort Strother, in the valley of the Coosa River south of Tallasahatchie and north of Talledega. Now, with dependable if green regular troops, Andrew Jackson planned a final drive against the Indians—and now, Thomas Benton could hope again for a day of glory on the battlefield. At last he was in the field with troops he had recruited and trained, and ready to take the center of action against the Red Sticks.[119]

But once again, the Colonel was doomed to disappointment. The de-

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[113]Adams (ed.), *Atlas*, plates 88-89. All geographical references in this section henceforth are based on this citation, unless otherwise specified.

[114]Andrew Jackson to Willie Blount, November 4, 1813, and to John Armstrong, November 20, 1813, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 341, 356.

[115]Thomas H. Benton to William P. Anderson, Franklin, November 22, 1813, Coffee Papers.

[116]Thomas H. Benton to George W. Campbell, Camp Anderson, Near Nashville, December 10, 1813, *loc. cit.*

[117]James, *Jackson*, 166-68.

[118]Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, January 28, 1814, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, I, 444-47.

[119]Andrew Jackson to Thomas Pinckney, Fort Strother, February 5, 1814, in *ibid.*, 457-58.

cisive battle was fought at Tohopeka on the Horseshoe Bend of the Talapoosa River about 150 miles south of the Tennessee border, and the Thirty-Ninth was in the center and fought gloriously,[120] sustaining casualties of seventeen killed and seventy-two wounded.[121] But Thomas Benton was not there—at the last minute, he had been ordered back to Tennessee on recruiting duty. From Camp Hamilton on the Coosa, the ambitious young man spelled out his bitterness to the Adjutant General—"the first wish of my heart is to do duty with the regiment to which I belong," but failing this, he begged for employment with *some* corps in the active use of arms.[122]

The hostilities now shifted south, and in a few months Thomas Benton found himself in the field again. By the beginning of July, he was with the Thirty-Ninth at Mount Vernon near the tip of Mobile Bay, in command of the regiment *vice* Colonel Williams who had gone to Washington.[123] Here the Lieutenant Colonel learned that the Indians were scattered along the Escumbia River as far as Pensacola in Spanish West Florida. The fact that the Red Sticks had been pushed south meant that the Gulf country at least was more menaced than ever,[124] and the Indians were living well off farms and herds of cattle abandoned by fleeing settlers. Is there anything, Thomas Benton wrote General Thomas Flournoy, in command at New Orleans, to forbid the Thirty-Ninth going to Pensacola to bayonet these villains?[125] Without waiting for an answer, the young commander and his troops set out three days later for the Escumbia, to "remove these rascals a little farther off."[126]

Once more, the Colonel's hopes of action rose. Why stop at guerilla raids? Why not go on to *occupy* the Red Sticks' headquarters at Pensacola, and thereby win a base from which troops could constantly scour the Escumbia and keep it clear of Indians?[127] What if Pensacola was a Spanish town, in Spanish territory? Why should a restless commander be content with small expeditions, full of fatigue and lacking in honor, affording only temporary relief to the inhabitants?[128]

Soon, an expedition was ready. It moved toward Pensacola, and on July 12 it was joined at Cockran's Cowpen by a body of Mississippi Territory volunteers under Lieutenant Colonel George H. Nixon, whose troops

[120]Report of General Jackson to Governor Blount, Fort Williams, March 31, 1814, in *ibid.*, 489-92.

[121]*The Clarion*, May 10, 1814.

[122]Thomas H. Benton to the Adjutant General, Camp Hamilton on the Coosa River, February 11, 1814, Correspondence of the Adjutant General's Office.

[123]Thomas H. Benton to General Flournoy, Mount Vernon, July 5, 1814, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[124]Thomas H. Benton to Governor Holmes [of Mississippi Territory], Mount Vernon, Mobile River, July 8, 1814, Benton Papers, Personal Miscellany (Library of Congress).

[125]Thomas H. Benton to General Flournoy, Mount Vernon, July 5, 1814, *loc. cit.*

[126]Thomas H. Benton to Governor Holmes, Mount Vernon, July 8, 1814, Benton Papers, Personal Miscellany.

[127]Thomas H. Benton to General Flournoy, Mount Vernon, July 5, 1814, *loc. cit.*

[128]Thomas H. Benton to Governor Holmes, Mount Vernon, July 8, 1814, *loc. cit.*

Thomas Benton had called into service. At last, the ambitious warrior thought, he would see some action. But a third time his hopes were balked, for on July 13, after getting his troops across the Alabama River fifty miles above Pensacola, Lieutenant Colonel Benton was taken very ill and was obliged to return himself to Fort Stoddard! Above Pensacola the expedition under the command of George Nixon *did* meet the Indians and fight gallantly—but Thomas Benton wasn't there.[129] After the battle the Indians retreated to Pensacola, and there they remained through July and into August.[130]

Meanwhile, the Indian wars were brought to a close. In June Andrew Jackson had been commissioned brigadier general and brevet major general in the regular United States army, given command of the Seventh or Southwest Military District, and ordered to deal with the Creeks.[131] On August 9 he called a council with the Indians and presented them with a take-it-or-fight treaty by which the United States acquired practically all of the Creek lands and the warriors were left beaten and helpless.[132] As the General moved to set up his headquarters at Mobile, the frontier rejoiced that Spanish and British attempts to maneuver against the United States through the Indians were at last ended.[133]

Less than two months after the Escumbia expedition, Thomas Benton was in the field again. He was ordered by General Jackson to Montgomery's Redoubt, near old Fort Mims on the Alabama River above Mobile Bay,[134] where he was to watch the British who had made their headquarters at Pensacola.[135] Before long he sent what he thought was exciting news to General Jackson. From a man named Boyles, who wandered between American and Spanish territory, he had learned that ships were setting out from Pensacola for Mobile Point, with a miscellaneous cargo of British, Indians, escaped Negro slaves, American deserters, and "refuse Spaniards."[136] But the staff at Mobile was not so sure the information was as important as the impetuous Thomas Benton thought. One of General Jackson's aides warned Thomas Benton not to fall into a British trap, and suggested that Boyles had been sent by the English to divert American attention from Pensacola.[137]

This chilly communique did not slow the Colonel. He went on sending

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[129]George H. Nixon to Andrew Jackson, Camp Near Escumbia, July 19, 1814, Jackson Papers (Chicago Historical Society).

[130]Andrew Jackson to Secretary Armstrong, Fort Jackson, July 31, 1814, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, II , 23.

[131]*The Clarion*, June 14, 1814.

[132]James, *Jackson*, 176-78.

[133]*The Clarion*, August 23, 1814.

[134]*Cf.* Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, II, 9, n. 3; 70, n. 2.

[135]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Montgomery's Redoubt, September 2, 1814, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[136]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Fort Montgomery, September 11, 1814, 7 PM, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[137]Thomas L. Butler to Thomas H. Benton, Mobile, September 12, 1814, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, II, 47-48.

what information he had, and was soon rewarded with news that a dozen British men-o'-war had been sighted at Mobile Point. Still the General thought the whole thing a "faint" to save Pensacola![138] Let Lieutenant-Colonel Benton be careful of border adventurers, who must be watched lest being trusted they prove doubly useful to the enemy. . .and so on. . .and so on.[139] But, as headquarters ground out these smug cautions, the British *did* strike at Fort Bowyer at the mouth of Mobile Bay, in an attack that was barely repulsed.[140] Apparently headquarters had been wrong, and the border spy and the Colonel right, about British intentions; apparently, in short, it was no "faint" the English had in mind but a real thrust into American territory.[141]

This suspicion was confirmed by news from abroad. Across the Atlantic the word came—"Wellington's army to America!. . .Bonaparte dethroned. Peace in Europe; English coming to swallow U.S."[142] It now seemed that the decisive battle might really be expected—and from New Orleans General Jackson received a frantic cry for help.[143] Sure that any British force would set out overland from Pensacola, the General promptly called for volunteers from Louisiana[144] and planned a full-scale attack against his old, favorite target.[145]

The great movement that was in the offing would require Thomas Benton's troops. Gather your regiment, a command from headquarters read, and bring them to the Perdido Bay just west of Pensacola.[146] By September 18 the Lieutenant-Colonel was on the way, stopping briefly at Blakeley's Farm where he expected to be joined by Colonel Nixon with his mounted men.[147] On September 20 he issued a manifold order—*one,* the mounted group to press on to Perdido Bay; *two,* the troops under Colonel Nixon to proceed toward Pensacola "by rapid marches," to contact the Thirty-Ninth there; *three,* all mounted men at Fort Montgomery to proceed toward Pensacola to meet the Thirty-Ninth; *four,* all effectives at Fort Montgomery and half those at Prim's Fort to follow the mounted men.[148] By September 22 the

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[138]Thomas L. Butler to Thomas H. Benton, Mobile, September 13, 1814, in *ibid.*, 48.

[139]Thomas L. Butler to Thomas H. Benton, Mobile, September 15, 1814, in *ibid.*, 49.

[140]Andrew Jackson to Robert Butler, Mobile, September 17, 1814, in *ibid.*, 49-50.

[141]Andrew Jackson to Secretary James Monroe, Mobile, September 17, 1814, in *ibid.*, 50.

[142]James, *Jackson,* 180.

[143]Committee of Safety to Andrew Jackson, New Orleans, September 18, 1814, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* II, 51.

[144]Proclamation to the People of Louisiana, Mobile, September 21, 1814, in *ibid.*, 57.

[145]James, *Jackson,* 194.

[146]Thomas H. Benton to Colonel Hayne, Fort Montgomery, October 4, 1814, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[147]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, at Blakeley's, September 18, 1814, Jackson Papers (Chicago Historical Society).

[148]Military Order, Thomas H. Benton, September 20, 1814, Benton Papers, Personal Miscellany.

Colonel was on the Bay of Perdido.[149]

The battle seemed imminent, and another time the sniff of action thrilled Thomas Benton's nostrils. But the assault was delayed, and the Colonel found himself back at Fort Montgomery,[150] where he soon had to worry about the depleting strength of his regiment as men took their discharges when their year of service was up.[151] Meanwhile, he had his troops get the post "in a tolerably respectable state of defense"—there wasn't much else to do anyway.[152]

Finally, however, in the last week of October General Jackson formed his force again for the attack on Pensacola. He had been waiting for orders from Washington, but now he determined on his own to march[153] at the beginning of November with three thousand men, including the seven hundred regulars of Thomas Benton's Thirty-Ninth Infantry.[154]

The supreme moment was at hand. But at this supreme moment, Thomas Benton and six of his fellow officers were ordered back to Tennessee; the depleted Thirty-Ninth must recruit new members. When they heard the news, the seven protested to the Adjutant General:

> Finding ourselves unexpectedly ordered upon the recruiting service at a moment when active operations were about to commence, unwilling to be seen creeping home at such a period, desirous of being employed in some way, and anxious to avoid an interference with any arrangements which have been made for the public service; we respectfully request that we may be permitted to serve in the rank of the file. . .now under the command of Major Blue in the service of the United States.

The signers included one lieutenant colonel (Benton), one major (Peacock), four captains (Davis, Hengar, Jones, Payne), and one lieutenant (Dunkin).[155]

The answer at General Jackson's headquarters was—no. The commander applauded the patriotic ardor the officers' protest breathed, but he had to give places which might win laurels to others who had served with him in the winter campaign. Recruiting it was, and once again Thomas

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[149]Military Order, Thomas H. Benton, Bay of Perdido, September 22, 1814, Benton Letters.

[150]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Fort Montgomery, September 28, 1814, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[151]Thomas H. Benton to Colonel Hayne, Fort Montgomery, October 10, 1814, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[152]Thomas H. Benton to Andrew Jackson, Fort Montgomery, October 16, 1814, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[153]Andrew Jackson to Secretary Monroe, Pearce's Stockade, October 26, 1814, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence*, II, 82-83.

[154]James, *Jackson*, 196.

[155]Thomas H. Benton and Others, to the Adjutant General, Fort Montgomery, October 25, 1814, Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

Benton's soldier's career was blighted before it had blossomed.[156]

But this did not hold the ambitious Lieutenant Colonel for long. He was tenacious as well as mettlesome, and he determined a last time that he *would,* somehow, get into the fighting on the major war front. He would go to Canada alone, if he could not go there with his outfit! He got Colonel Williams to order him to Washington, and once again he made the long trip over the mountains, carrying a petition from the officers of the Thirty-Ninth asking for action.[157] As he travelled, in December, 1814, and January, 1815, troops under Andrew Jackson fought the long-expected battle with the British around New Orleans. The struggle ended in a triumph which established General Jackson's reputation throughout the land.[158] But for the fifth time, Thomas Benton, seeking service, was absent when his fellow Tennesseans marched down the glory road!

In Washington, the Lieutenant Colonel prepared a memorandum for Adjutant-General Parker. He was there, he noted on January 23, *first,* to settle his accounts; *second,* to request employment for his regiment on what he still thought the principal theatre, the North; and *third,* to request northern service for himself if the request of the regiment could not be granted.[159] He submitted a certified abstract showing that he had disbursed $1,600 for the regiment since November 30, 1814.[160] And then he waited. . . and waited. . .and waited.

Toward the beginning of February, rumors of peace reached Washing-

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[156]Col. Robert Butler (and Jackson) to Thomas H. Benton, Pierce's Stockade, October [26], 1814, in Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence,* II, 65-66.

[157]Memorandum to the Adjutant General, by Thomas H. Benton, Washington, January 23, 1815, Correspondence of the Adjutant General's Office. According to one authority, Thomas Benton acquired about this time a quadroon girl as a mistress —a girl who later married the son of the co-founder of Memphis and went there to live. James, *Jackson,* 306. Telling this tale, James offers no documentation, and researches by the writer around Nashville and Franklin failed to unearth anything more positive. In response to a request from the writer, James recalled that he got the story from a memoir about the city of Memphis. Letter from Marquis James, Rye, New York, August 15, 1948. A survey of a dozen or more volumes finally resulted in discovery of the story in James D. Davis, *The History of the City of Memphis, . . . Also, the "Old Times Papers"* (Memphis, 1873), 73. Though the tale is repeated in a couple of recent histories of Memphis, clearly following Davis' account, the story he gives seems unlikely. He says that Thomas Benton picked up "Mary" in New Orleans when he was there commanding a regiment under General Jackson, and that he brought her back and kept her (presumably in Tennessee) for two or three years when he turned her over to the man who married her. The fact that Benton was not at New Orleans with Andrew Jackson, but in Washington, and the fact that he moved to St. Louis in the late summer or fall of 1815 makes it hard to understand when or how he acquired the girl or how he could have kept her in Tennessee two or three years. Finally, the whole thing seems out of character for Benton. All this, and some other minor difficulties in the story, seem to indicate that the tale cannot be credited. It must be noted that Davis went to Memphis only in 1824. Thus, though he doubtless did find a "Mary" there as wife of the son of the co-founder, the Benton part of the tale he must have had at second or third hand.

[158]James, *Jackson,* 218-64.

[159]Memorandum to the Adjutant General, by Thomas H. Benton, Washington, January 23, 1815, *loc. cit.*

[160]Statement of Accounts by Thomas H. Benton, Georgetown, January 23, 1815, *ibid.*

ton. Sitting in his room in Georgetown, Thomas Benton wrote out the news in a letter he sent back to Mobile,[101] and then waited some more. At last he was rewarded with an order to proceed to Canada.[102] But before he left Washington definite word came—"Glorious News! *Orleans saved and peace concluded. . .Who would not be an American? Long live the republic! All hail! last asylum of oppressed humanity!*" The treaty had been signed at Ghent on December 24, 1814, even before the decisive, final blow Andrew Jackson had launched at New Orleans.[103] The war was over, and for a last time Thomas Benton had missed his chance.

This was the effective end of Thomas Benton's career as a soldier. He received his honorable discharge, dated June 15, 1815.[104] Finding himself without employment, and without immediate responsibilities, he faced a major decision, one of the most important of his life: should he return to Tennessee, and try to take up his old life, or should he strike out on some new path? His brawl with the King of the Cumberland, Andrew Jackson, and the passions this had aroused, meant that any attempt to re-establish himself around Nashville would be difficult. In addition, in his trip down the Mississippi in 1813, he had caught a glimpse of the greater New West beyond the river, the vast, unsettled, rough, but potential Missouri Territory, and his thoughts in 1815 turned to this area. There, he might build a new fortune with his own hands![105]

Before the summer of 1815 was out, he had made his decision—Thomas Benton took the long road to St. Louis, to settle on the banks of the great Mississippi itself.[106]

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[101]*Cf.* Uriah Blue to Thomas H. Benton, Mobile, March 10, 1815, *ibid.*

[102]Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," *loc. cit.*, iii.

[103]*Niles Weekly Register* (Baltimore), VII (February 18, 1815), 385.

[104]*Complete Regular Army Register*, 213.

But Thomas Benton never lost his lust for military glory—perhaps in part because as a young, vigorous man his ambitions in this direction had been so utterly thwarted. When twenty years later the United States found itself at war again, with Mexico, the Missouri senator, by that time in his sixties, was once again straining to get into the field. A bill was proposed to create a lieutenant general over all the troops in Mexico, and it was generally expected that if the bill passed, the Tennessee President, James K. Polk, would appoint the former Tennessee Colonel to the post. In this connection Thomas Benton justified his possible appointment to the supreme command on the grounds that his service in 1812-1815 gave him seniority over any active commander then in the field. But the bill was defeated, and once again Thomas Benton was denied military action. *Cf.* Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, II, 678-79.

[105]Thomas H. Benton to James P. Preston, St. Louis, November 14, 1819, Preston Papers (Virginia Historical Society).

[106]Benton, "Auto-Biographical Sketch," *loc. cit.*, iii.

METHODISM IN JONESBORO, TENNESSEE

By Paul M. Fink

Methodism did not appear early on the western frontier, at least not in the numbers of some of the other religious faiths. This was at least partly due to the fact that it was still a very young denomination, having its origin in England in 1738. The first members reported in America were in Maryland in 1764, and the first missionaries sent over from the mother country arrived five years later. When Francis Asbury came in 1771, there were only about 600 Methodist in all the colonies, and at the first American Conference in 1773 there were none reported as living in North Carolina.

It was in this same year that Edward Cox, a convert of Asbury's, settled near Choat's Ford, the present Bluff City, and to him is accorded the honor of being the first Methodist to reside in the Tennessee country.[1] This was only five years subsequent to the arrival of William Bean on Boone's Creek, the first permanent residence in Tennessee.

Even though the total Methodist membership in the colonies was so small, it was inevitable that the flood of migration across the mountains and down the valleys would include at least a few of this denomination. One of these, destined to become a staunch supporter, was William Nelson, who in the early days of the Revolution located on Knob Creek, a tributary of the Watauga, a mile or so west of the present boundary of Johnson City.[2] Here Asbury, the great travelling bishop and missionary evangelist of early Methodism, was to stop many times as he rode back and forth through his vast diocese. As Johnson City was not yet to be dreamed of for more than three-quarters of a century, Asbury and others generally referred to this hospitable stopping place as "Nelson's, near Jonesborough."

A call for a preacher came from the western waters to the Methodist Conference of 1783. Responding to the appeal, Holston Circuit was created, with Jeremiah Lambert as circuit rider. This circuit was one of vast bounds, including all of southwestern Virginia and eastern Tennessee.[3] Four years later it was divided into Holston and Nolichucky circuits, with much new territory added. Most of this fell within the confines of Holston, with the original field largely given to Nolichucky.[4]

All services and appointments on these frontier circuits were at first either outdoors or in the homes of the various members, for the groups were too scattered and too poor to enable them to build meeting houses. Probably

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[1]R. N. Price, *Holston Methodism*, 5 vols. (Nashville, 1904-1913), I, 77-85. Hereafter referred to as Price.

[2]Note to Asbury's "Journal," as quoted in Samuel C. Williams (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1928), 292.

[3]Price, I, 94.

[4]*Ibid.*, 95.

at his own expense, for he was a large landowner and well-to-do according to the standards of the day, William Nelson built a chapel close to his home. This, in 1789, was the third Methodist church west of the mountains and the second in Tennessee, Acuff's Chapel near Blountville antedating it by some three years.[5]

The first Conference in the Tennessee country was held at Nelson's Chapel on April 2, 1793, with Bishop Asbury presiding In his journal for that date is the entry: "Our Conference began at Nelson's, near Jonesborough, in The New Territory. We have only four or five families of Methodists here. We had sweet peace at our Conference."[6] Again, three years later, another session of the Conference was held at the same place.

Moral conditions on the frontier were far from favorable to the spread of either religious principles or practices. Bishop Asbury felt cause to comment on the state of spiritual affairs in his journal, in an entry made while stopping at one Dunsworth's, in Carter County, while on his way from South Carolina to Kentucky in 1797. He wrote:

> I am of opinion it is as hard, or harder, for the people of the west to gain religion as any other. When I consider where they came from, where they are, and how they are called to go further, their being unsettled, with so many objects to take their attention, with good air and good health to enjoy, and when I reflect that not one in a hundred came here to get religion, but rather to get plenty of good land, I think it will be well if some or many do not eventually lose their souls.[7]

Other writers were even more pessimistic. One, David A. Deaderick, a native of the town, spoke of Jonesboro as being "remarkable for its irreligion."[8] But the great wave of religious revival that swept over the country at the turn of the century was close at hand, and in a few short years was making itself felt in remarkable meetings, conducted by the circuit riders or itinerant evangelists.

The career of one of the circuit riders, John A. Grenade, was meteoric, with sensational results. So dramatic was he in his manner of preaching that he was commonly referred to as "the wild man," but he seldom failed to move his congregation deeply and had hundreds of conversions in the few years he served in this immediate section. Most of his preaching was done in the open, for there were few buildings large enough to accommodate the crowds that

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[5]*Ibid.*, 135.
[6]Quoted in *ibid.*, 190.
[7]Quoted in Williams (ed.), *Early Travels*, 305.
[8]Samuel C. Williams (ed.), "Journal of Events of David Anderson Deaderick," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 8 (1936), 126.

flocked to hear him. His journal tells of a meeting in 1802 at McKee's, on Nolichucky River near John Sevier's home, that lasted all night and at which five of Sevier's family were converted and received into the church. From there he went to Jonesboro, where threats had been freely made by the rougher element that he would not be permitted to preach. As he rode into the town a violent storm of wind, lightning, and rain was raging. Undaunted by any fear of personal injury from either man or elements, he made his way to the courthouse and spoke to a great crowd of wonderstruck hearers, using as his text Genesis 16: 12, "and he will be as a wild man." Many were convicted and some converted.[9]

That same year Asbury attended a four day camp meeting at or near the residence of James I. Cash, a local preacher living on Little Limestone Creek about three miles west of Jonesboro. Some 1,500 people attended, an enormous gathering considering the sparse population, and quite a few were converted.[10]

Contemporary with Grenade was Lorenzo Dow, an eccentric itinerant evangelist of great note, whose travels covered all of eastern America and extended across the ocean. Though unaffiliated with any denomination, his teachings were those of Methodist doctrine. His book records passing through Jonesboro in 1804 and again in 1813. As he invariably preached wherever and whenever he could gather a dozen listeners, we may rest assured that he held services in the town, though his account of the visits tells of no particular incidents.[11]

By 1800 Jonesboro was a town some twenty years old, a leading one in East Tennessee, but as yet there was not a single church building for any denomination. Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists all had meeting houses in the country only a few miles from town, but none at the center of population. Nor was one to be built until 1816, when the Hebron Presbyterian congregation moved to town from their former location about three miles east. This strange reluctance to build in town was not peculiar to Jonesboro alone, but obtained in the other communities of the region. Knoxville's first church, Presbyterian in denomination, was not built until 1812, while Methodist buildings did not appear in Abingdon, Virginia, Greeneville, and Madisonville until the early 1820's.

An effort was made toward building a Methodist church in Jonesboro a couple of decades before these other towns, for in 1805 Joseph Young, John McAllister, and Peter Miller, "Commissioners for building a meeting house in Jonesborough," paid $100 for a lot fronting on North First Avenue, just to the rear of the present home of Mrs. W. E. May. Their plans evidently

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[9]Price, 16.

[10]*The Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* 3 vols. (New York, 1821), II, 79.

[11]Lorenzo Dow, *History of Cosmopolite* (Cincinnati, 1855), 185, 318.

never bore fruit, for in 1816 the commissioners transferred the property to Spencer E. Gibson for the same price paid.[12]

Regardless of the lack of meeting houses in the towns, the wave of religious enthusiasm following the Great Revival did not abate, but continued to grow. Great camp meetings, lasting sometimes for weeks, were a favorite form of religious gathering. The Rev. George Ekin, a great leader among the circuit riders, reported attending one near Jonesboro where 202 persons joined the church.[13] So rapidly did membership increase everywhere in the years around 1820 that the General Conference held in Baltimore in 1824 created a new conference in the mountain region, naming it Holston Conference, and assigning it to forty-one travelling preachers. As yet there were only circuit riders, with no stationed ministers in the conference.

A series of prayer meetings was held in Jonesboro in 1822 by R. W. H. Hill,[14] a merchant of Huntsville, Alabama, who chanced to be in the town on business. The meetings were held in the home of a Mrs. Brown, described as being one of the oldest Methodists in the place. Her given name has not come down to us, but it probably was Mrs. Mary Brown, a widow who owned several pieces of property in the town. Her home may very well have been in a brick building at about the site of the present home of Mrs. E. J. Baxter.

At the beginning the meetings were poorly attended, but interest grew until it developed into a revival of great power. Led at first by curiosity, a young lawyer, with several friends, came to the meetings. As the days passed he became more interested, was converted and joined the church, to become one of the outstanding preachers of his time. This new convert was Elbert F. Sevier, a grandson of General John Sevier. On joining the church he felt a call to preach and against vigorous parental opposition laid aside a promising legal practice to become a Methodist itinerant. Handsome, magnetic, logical, and eloquent, with a better education than most, his outstanding qualifications were soon recognized. For four decades he was one of the leading figures in Holston Methodism, and in the minds of some, one of the greatest preachers ever produced within the bounds of Holston Conference.[15]

Converted at the same meeting with Sevier was Oliver B. Ross, a young merchant who had come to Jonesboro from Baltimore. A pewholder and regular attendant in Hebron Presbyterian Church, he now became more interested in the Methodist faith and in 1826 was licensed as a local preacher. Soon he laid his business affairs aside and in 1829 moved to Lexington,

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[12]Records of Washington County, Tenn., Deed Book No. 12, p. 192, and No. 15, p. 307.

[13]Price, II, 430.

[14]R. W. H. Hill (1797-1853) was originally from Nashville, finally moving to New Orleans. He amassed a large fortune as a merchant and steamboat operator. He died combatting yellow fever. *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1893-), II, 115.

[15]Price, III, 187-95.

Kentucky, to assume charge of the *Gospel Herald,* under the auspices of the Kentucky Conference. Here he died of consumption a short time later.[16]

Under the impetus of the revival of 1822, the Jonesboro church grew rapidly in interest and numbers. Though always the main strength of any religious group, as yet the women of Methodism had remained in the background. The ladies of Jonesboro took an entirely new, unprecedented step when they banded themselves together into the Jonesborough Wesleyan Female Society. The announced object was to raise money to supplement the salaries of the travelling ministry, and for other church purposes. Unfortunately, the name of only one of these devoted ladies has come down to us, that of the secretary, Mrs. Harriet Ross, wife of Oliver B. Ross and daughter of Samuel D. Jackson, a wealthy merchant and landowner.[17] This Wesleyan Female Society has been called the beginning of the women's movement in southern Methodism. From this small band and the example they set has grown, slowly at first and later with increasing volume, the organization now known as the great Women's Society of Christian Service.

The second session of Holston Conference convened in Jonesboro, October 20, 1825, Bishops Robert R. Roberts and Joshua Soule presiding, and with twenty-eight members answering the roll call. No record is available to show where the meeting was held, but probably it was in a private home or perhaps the courthouse, where public meetings of every sort were customarily held. Early in the session representatives of the Wesleyan Female Society appeared before the body and presented to it the sum of $40.25, to be used in making up arrears in the salaries of the travelling ministers.[18] This is a very small sum by today's ideas, but at a time when some of the circuit riders did not receive more than $50.00 cash for a year's services, it was a great help in the conference finances. In 1833 another contribution of $15.00 was tendered the conference.

Then, and until a few years following the Civil War, the Methodist churches, and other denominations as well, carried on their rolls colored members, both slave and free. At this session a colored man, Anthony Rhea, was elected to deacon's orders,[19] an indication that he was a local preacher. His place of residence was not mentioned, but as colored people of that surname have been in Jonesboro for a long time there is a logical assumption that he was a local man.

Even though Negroes were received into full membership, the slavery question that was soon to split the Methodist Church wide open was already beginning to stir up ill feeling. That year (1833) the character of William P. Kendrick, a preeminently successful evangelist, was "arrested" upon several

[16] *Ibid.,* 214.
[17] *Ibid.,* 215.
[18] *Ibid.,* 211.
[19] *Ibid.*

complaints, one of which was that of selling a Negro slave. In a letter addressed to the Rev. Samuel Patton, he not only confessed that he had done so—the slave in question being a gift from his father, later sold to pay the old man's debts— but frankly stated that he still owned three other slaves. These he had no intention of emancipating, but would either sell or return to the donor in exchange for other property. Sympathy was with him; the charges lay over for a year, when he was aquitted.[20]

Another minister was presented for owning a slave, a girl aged about thirteen years. Obligating himself to do as the conference ordered in the matter, he was directed to

> secure the freedom of said girl at the age of twenty-one years, and should she have any children before that time, they should be liberated at the same age. He was also required to give said girl and her children, if any, an education sufficient to enable them to read the Holy Scriptures.[21]

The first educational movement in Holston Methodism started during this same conference. A committee was named to consider the propriety and possibility of establishing within the bounds of the conference a school to be conducted under its patronage and control. Such a novel and ambitious undertaking required several years of planning and hard work to bring it to fruition, and finally resulted in establishing Holston Seminary at New Market in 1831.[22]

As the local membership increased in numbers, the demand grew for a building of their own. Just when this ceased to be merely a dream and became a reality cannot be determined with any certainty, but scattered bits of evidence point to its being shortly after 1825. Assuredly it was before 1830, for in February of that year John M. Smith pledged as collateral security for debt, among other items of personalty, including slaves, a "debt due by the trustees of the Methodist meeting house in Jonesborough" of about three hundred dollars.[23]

This building was small, built of brick, with a brick floor. The seats were simply rough slabs, supported on round pins.[24] It was in the southeastern part of town, just west of the Greene mansion. This area was then a part of the "common," the public land of the town. Following a not infrequent custom of

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[20]*Ibid.*, 93. For the rules against slavery and slave trading, see Asa E. Martin, "Anti-Slavery Activities of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Tennessee," *Tennessee Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1915-1937), II (1916), 89-109.

[21]Price, III, 210.

[22]*Ibid.*, 10 *et seq.*

[23]Records of Washington County, Deed Book 20, p. 99.

[24]Goodspeed Printing Co., *History of Tennessee*, East Tennessee edition (Nashville, 1887), 901.

the time, the building itself was erected long before legal title to the site was acquired. In 1834 the mayor and aldermen of Jonesboro deeded to Jacob Howard, James Johnson, Peter Miller, John E. Cosson, and Samuel Greer

> for and in consideration that the said trustees have caused a meeting house to be erected for the purpose of Divine worship and for and in consideration of $1.00 cash in hand paid, do hereby bargain, sell, give, grant and convey . . . a lot of ground being part of the common ground of said town, lying in the southeast corner of said town on which the Methodist chapel now stands . . . . It is especially understood that said trustees are not to enclose said ground.[25]

Four years later permission was granted to fence in the grounds about the church.[26]

It is believed safe to assume that when Holston Conference met again in Jonesboro in 1828 its sessions were in the new chapel. Indeed, it may have been the completion of this new edifice that prompted the selection of the meeting place, for crude though it may seem to us today, as a brick building it was much superior to most of the churches in the conference. In the main these were still log chapels located in rural communities.

Realizing that the success and strength of any Christian organization depends in large measure on the training of its youth, the churches in Jonesboro from the beginning were actively and successfully promoting Sunday Schools, a movement that had its origin in England in 1781. When the fiftieth anniversary of that date rolled around, a joint celebration was planned by the Jonesborough Sunday School Union. The observance was held in the Methodist Church on November 20, 1831, with all schools in the neighborhood and clergy of all denominations invited to participate. The meeting to make arrangements for the affair was presided over by the Hon. John Blair, a member of Congress, whose home was in Jonesboro.[27]

Up to this time all appointments in Holston Conference had been circuits, and there were no stationed ministers who served only a single church. The territory was far too wide, the congregations scattered, and the ministers far too few to go around. An innovation was made in 1833, when Kingsport and Jonesboro were linked into a sort of duplex station. This was something of an expedient in order to give lighter work to Dr. Samuel Patton, a leading light in Holston Methodism, whose naturally frail physique was showing the wearing effects of long riding, exposure, and labor. When one remembers that this new appointment was two churches, separated by more than twenty-five miles, with rivers, creeks, high hills, and rough roads between, to be tra-

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[25]Records of Washington County, Deed Book 20, p. 191.

[26]*Ibid.*, Deed Book 22, p. 331.

[27]*Farmers Journal* (Jonesboro), November 14, 1831.

versed at least twice a week on horseback, with at least two sermons, prayer and class meetings, and much pastoral visiting, it becomes apparent that while the work may have been easier than before, it would be in no respect a restful assignment. The conference statistics at the end of Dr. Patton's stay, in 1835, show 154 white and 48 colored members in the two charges, with two Sunday Schools, three superintendents, 16 teachers and 85 scholars, and 168 volumes in the Sunday School libraries. The same year the separate Jonesboro circuit had 843 white and 70 colored members and two Sunday Schools.[28]

For a couple of decades after 1825 bitter doctrinal warfare raged among denominations throughout the country, but with a few exceptions their relations in Jonesboro were cordial. The Baptists, who as yet had no building of their own, heard their Elder Bowers preach in the Methodist church,[29] and on another occasion even held a revival in the Presbyterian church,[30] possibly the revival that resulted in the formation of the Jonesboro congregation. It is true that a little hard feelings did arise between the Methodists and Presbyterians in 1842. The Methodist Quarterly Conference for the Jonesboro circuit sent to the Presbyterian church charges that a certain feminine member of that church had "basely slandered" a lady of the Methodist congregation. The message read:

> While we as a Methodist conference claim no right to meddle or dictate in matters pertaining to the Presbyterian church in Jonesborough or elsewhere, yet we respectfully inquire of the authorities of that church if they will tolerate the slander of one of our members by a member of their communion.

The session of the Presbyterian church immediately took cognizance of the charges. After strict examination of the offending member, it was

> unanimously resolved that Mrs.----- stands wholly vindicated in the solemn judgement of the Session from the charge of slander which has been the subject of this day's investigation, and that the said investigation leaves not the shadow of reproach upon her character.[31]

Evidently the Methodist body was also satisfied by the result of the investigation, and the two congregations continued to work in full amity as before.

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[28]Price, III, 293.

[29]William G. Brownlow, *The Great Iron Wheel Examined* . . . (Nashville, 1856), 98.

[30]*Ibid.*, 96.

[31]Manuscript minutes of the session of the Jonesboro Presbyterian Church, August 16, 1842, *et seq.*

The coming of William G. Brownlow to Jonesboro in 1840 did not tend to preserve harmonious relations between the churches of the town, or elsewhere. For ten years a Methodist circuit rider, then editor and politician, "Parson" Brownlow was a radical soul who could see but a single side to any question—his own. Everything else was wholly and completely wrong. The motto at the masthead of his *Jonesborough Whig* was "Cry aloud and spare not" and right well did he live up to it. Just at that time the doctrinal dispute between certain elements of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches was growing more and more heated, passing from the sphere of religious affairs to bitter personal recriminations. Brownlow declared that the controversy had reached too low a plane for the more decent element of the ministry to engage in it, and that therefore he felt called upon to enter the fight. Entertaining an implacable enmity for the Rev. F. A. Ross, a prominent Presbyrerian divine of Kingsport, he followed him about the country giving a series of vituperative lectures and then for two years published a periodical, first quarterly, then monthly, entitled *The Jonesborough Monthly Review, or Fredrick Augustus Ross as he really is* (Jonesboro, 1847-1848). Each issue was wholly devoted to a vitriolic attack on Dr. Ross personally or the church he represented. The Parson also carried on for years a religious and personal battle with Elder J. R. Graves, a Baptist, who in his book *The Iron Wheel* had made some slighting allusions to John Wesley, founder of Methodism, thus arousing Brownlow's ire. The warfare finally culminated in a book from Brownlow's pen, *The Great Iron Wheel Examined; or, It's False Spokes Extracted. . .* (Nashville, 1856).

This jousting with religious leaders elsewhere did not nearly exhaust all of Brownlow's time or energy. Enough remained to make him a self-appointed disciplinarian of Jonesboro's citizenry and his own Methodist church, and here, too, he spread the word broadcast. In the columns of his paper on one occasion he wrote:

> On Sabbath last we rose up in church in the town before Mr. Johnson commenced preaching and denounced in most unqualified terms the previous conduct of some town boys, including a portion of the boys in our own office, and all other boys in the village who were concerned, without regard to church or politics. There was not an honest man, gentleman or good citizen in the church who did not approve.[32]

Other editorials at various times were even more bitter, with direct personal references to members of the church. Politics as well as religion was almost invariably involved, for this grew to be the absorbing passion of his life.

On one such occasion, a charge that Abraham Hoss had been guilty of

[32] *Jonesborough Whig*, September 22, 1841.

ballotbox-stuffing while serving as an election official led to the trial of Brownlow before the Quarterly Conference. A similar trial was the result of at least one of the many outbursts of the long personal and political feud between him and Landon C. Haynes, another local preacher.[33]

In 1844 came the great separation of Methodism, hitherto one single church, into two bodies, the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, generally referred to as the Northern and the Southern branches. Holston Conference went with the Southern group, and the Jonesboro congregation followed.

The 1840's was a period of much building in Jonesboro. Many old log and frame structures were torn away and replaced by handsome brick ones. The churches of the town caught the contagion and planned new meeting houses to supplant the old, which had already grown too small for the increased membership. As was the case with the date of building the first Methodist church, there is again a little doubt as to the exact year the second building was erected. Tradition has named the several years 1845, 1846, and 1847.

Certain it is that in January of 1847, Harriet G. Hunt, for a consideration of $600, deeded to Samuel Greer, Michael Clem, Shelby T. Shipley, Jas. A. Dilworth, William Hunt, Peter Miller, Wm. P. Reeves, Peter Reeves, and Landon C. Hoss, trustees, the lot on West Main Street where the present church now stands.[34] It is interesting to note that one of these men, Peter Miller, had also been named as trustee for the first building and for the attempt to build in 1805.

The cost of construction was in the neighborhood of $4,000. The name of the architect has been lost, but beyond question he was a most competent man, or was inspired on this occasion. Recently one of the country's top-ranking designers of religious edifices stated that only a few trifling details keep this from being a perfect example of the church architecture of the period.

The exterior remains today as it was originally, but changes have been made in the interior at various times. In common with many early southern churches, there was a gallery in the rear of the sanctuary for the use of the slave and free Negro members of the congregation. There were no Sunday School rooms partitioned off under this gallery, which was reached by a stairway on the right side, and the front door opened directly into the sanctuary. Heating was by immense wood stoves and the room was lit by oil lamps. The basement, entered by an outside door only, was floored and finished, and used for Sunday School purposes.

One valid reason for believing that the church was built or building

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[33]Fragmentary records of several Quarterly Conferences, Jonesboro Circuit, in possession of writer.

[34]Records of Washington County, Deed Book 37, p. 237.

before the deed passed for the site is that the third session of Holston Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was held in Jonesboro in October, 1847. So large an edifice would have taken some time to construct, and it is doubtful that it could have been completed in the space of ten months. Moreover, the place of meeting was set at the former session. It is logical to assume that in the fall of 1846, with the new church either done or well on its way to completion, the congregation invited the conference for its next meeting, that they might proudly display what was one of the best, if not indeed the finest, church building in the conference.

This conference was presided over by Bishop James O. Andrew, whose dismissal from the College of Bishops, without trial or even charges preferred, at the General Conference of 1844, precipitated the division of the Methodist church and the formation of the Southern branch.

Young David Sullins, in the beginning of his long and glorious career as minister and educator, was assigned to the Jonesboro charge in 1852. In his memoirs he tells:

> My appointment this year was to the Jonesboro Station. I took public conveyance (had no horse), and got to Jonesboro Saturday evening October 2, 1852. I stopped at the hotel. Next day I preached twice and had the pleasure of meeting many of my people. Here I found a good membership in a good, new church. The colored membership was large and I usually preached to them at three in the afternoon in the Sunday-school room, which was the basement. Jonesboro was then the best town between Knoxville and the State line.[35]

About this time the two great secret fraternal orders, the Masons and the Odd Fellows, were taking a great interest in education. Each, at one time or another, had under its control one or another of the schools of Jonesboro. Both for the moral influence and because many ministers were well educated, efforts were made to secure the services of some preacher as instructor. The talents of David Sullins were already so evident that in 1854 Lodge No. 40, I. O. O. F., of Jonesboro, sent a communication to the conference, meeting in Cleveland, Tennessee, asking that he be appointed as assistant principal of the Odd Fellows Female High School, a request granted by the presiding bishop.[36] It was during his stay in Jonesboro that Dr. Sullins married Ann Rebecca Blair, daughter of John Blair.

The political feeling leading to the Civil War was rapidly becoming more tense when the conference met again in Jonesboro in 1855. Notice had been given that the preachers, on arriving in the town (by horse or coach, for the railroad was not completed) should report first at the courthouse, pre-

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[35]David Sullins, *Recollections of an Old Man* (Bristol, Tenn., 1910), 121

[36]Price, IV, 173-74.

sumably for assignment to their places of entertainment. Such a large group could not be cared for by the Methodists alone, and it was the custom for hospitable members of other denominations to open their homes to the visitors. One of those kind citizens was Thos. A. R. Nelson, a ruling elder of the Presbyterian Church, whose home, "Buckhorn" (the present home of Mrs. Catherine McCoy), is still standing a mile east of town. Judge Nelson was a strong Whig, firmly opposed to secession, and the report was circulated that he would entertain Whig ministers only. To correct the rumor, he sent a message to those in charge, asking that Democrats alone be sent, and four were assigned to him. One of these was Dr. Frank Richardson, who told of Judge Nelson's lavish hospitality:

> We were in clover. The entertainment, materially and intellectually, was up to the high-water mark. He put his carriage and driver at our service all the time, and anticipated every want. Before we left he had our horses shod afresh, and gave to each one of us some books out of his library. One of the books he gave me, "Edwards on Revivals," has been of incalculable value to me.[37]

The troubled days of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period immediately after brought much turmoil and bitterness to all religious bodies in East Tennessee. The Methodist church in Jonesboro was no exception. Until the fall of the Confederacy the town was in Southern-held territory, and the Union sympathizers in the community, of whom there were many, had but little voice in affairs. Following Appomattox they asserted themselves strongly, making every effort to take over the church and to exclude the former Southern adherents from any participation. Even violence was threatened. On one occasion, when the Southern faction had announced a service in the building, threats were made that any man who so much as attempted to ring the bell would be shot at the bell rope. Undaunted, O. F. Dilworth walked into the church entry at the appointed time and rang the bell long and loud. No shooting followed.[38]

Holston Conference of the M. E. Church was organized in 1865 and immediately set about securing title, possession, or control of all church property, using coercion, legal steps, or whatever other means were available. Instrumental in the creation of the new conference, and of great influence in its proceedings, were a number of preachers newly come down from the North. One of these leaders was L. F. Drake of Ohio, who was appointed presiding elder of the Jonesboro District. He was very aggressive in exercising the so-called rights of the Union faction to take everything in sight, and

[37]Frank Richardson, *From Sunrise to Sunset* (Bristol, Tenn., 1910), 113.
[38]Recollections of Mrs. J. M. Fink.

soon the ex-Confederates were ousted from any use of the Jonesboro building. For some years thereafter, all their services were held in the basement of the courthouse. During this time Bishop H. N. McTyiere visited the town. As the courthouse was otherwise engaged for the evening, application was made to the Presbyterians for the use of their church. The entry in their minutes is interesting:

> It being distinctly ascertained that no controversy with any other religious denomination was intended, other than to the doctrine of Grace and Salvation to all who would hear, the Session thot [*sic*] it a Christian act of courtesy to grant it, especially as there were members anxious to hear it, and so gave their consent.[39]

In May, 1867, while church services were still held in the courthouse basement, Samuel J. Kirkpatrick, a young lawyer who shortly before had been a captain in the Confederate army, became the teacher of the Adult Bible Class.[40] This class he taught without interruption until about 1910, when advancing years made him turn it over to his son, Sam S. Kirkpatrick, who continued as teacher until 1940. Father and son had taught the same class for 73 years, a record seldom if ever equalled. Judge Kirkpatrick was a brother-in-law of Bishop E. E. Hoss.

The school in Jonesboro in which the Methodist Church had been interested and to which it had sent Dr. David Sullins received church backing again after the Civil War, but now it was from the Northern faction. In 1866, under the name of the Jonesboro Female College, it was headed by Prof. J. C. Foye. Liberal support was being given it by the townspeople, according to a report to the conference that year, when the request was made that the Rev. Mr. Drake be sent north to solicit more funds for its operation.[41] There must have been some substantial success in the campaign for funds; but either changed conditions or a desire to consolidate its educational program made the church withdraw its support. In 1871 the M. E. Conference passed a resolution that "the Conference request that its funds now invested in the Jonesboro Female College be transferred and paid to East Tennessee Wesleyan University to be used in liquidation of the debt due the Faculty."[42]

The fifth session of the M. E. Conference convened in Jonesboro in the fall of 1869, with Bishop Matthew Simpson presiding. The matter of property rights was discussed with a committee from the Southern branch with inconclusive results. It was entirely appropriate that such a discussion be

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[39]Manuscript minutes of the Jonesboro Presbyterian Church, June 7, 1867.

[40]*Sunday School Year Book* for Holston Conference, Methodist Church, South, for 1910 (Pulaski, Va., 1911).

[41]I. P. Martin, *History of Methodism in Holston Conference* (Knoxville, 1945), 109.

[42]*Ibid.*, 155.

held in Jonesboro, for in this and the Knoxville District were located more than 40 percent of all the property belonging to the Southern church that had been seized by the Northern faction.[43]

In many cases church property acquired before the separation in 1844 was deeded simply to the Methodist Episcopal Church (the only body existing then), and acquiring legal title was simply by intimidation and driving out the southern members of the congregation. In the case of the Jonesboro church it was a more difficult matter, for title was in the name of the Southern branch. However, at the time of building Landon C. Hoss had advanced some $900, which had never been repaid. Suit was filed in chancery court in November, 1866, to recover this amount. Four months later the Rev. Mr. Drake purchased the debt and lien from Hoss and pushed for sale of the property in settlement, with the idea of buying it in and thus gaining undisputed title. The case was long fought and finally a compromise was reached in May, 1870, when by payment of $100 cash and the execution by Jas. H. Dosser and one Fain of two notes totalling $1,351, it was

> agreed that possession will be given on the first day of June, 1870, to Jas. H. Dosser and other trustees of the Methodist Church South at Jonesboro of the church building now occupied by the Methodist Episcopal Church, also that the bell and chandelier will be left in the church as the property of the Methodist Church South, and it is further agreed that the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church on retiring from the church will be permitted to remove the Bible, Hymn books, organ and lamps on the pulpit and Sunday School library and all the stoves.[44]

Not many years after the suit ended, many changes were made in the interior of the building. The stairway to the balcony was removed, its floor raised, and the rear wall moved forward. Beneath it two Sunday School rooms and an entrance foyer were partitioned off. The original straight box pews were replaced with curved seats, and a crude form of central heating plant installed in the basement. Little other use of the basement was made until very recently. The exterior has remained as it was in the beginning. Until the restoration completed in 1948 few other changes were made in the building or its fittings, other than the substitution of electricity for oil light-

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[43]*Ibid.*, 137.

[44]Briefs, agreement, etc., of this suit, in possession of the writer.

[45]Within a few months after this settlement the M. E. congregation built a frame church on Main Street about the site of the present post office. There they worshipped until this structure was destroyed, along wih a number of residences and mercantile buildings, in the great fire of 1883.

ing and the installation of new windows, one set in 1892 and the present ones in 1928.

To offer a list of all the great preachers who have served this church or preached within its walls would be tiring, yet a few should be mentioned. Probably the most illustrious of all was Elijah Embree Hoss, born not many miles from Jonesboro in 1849 and converted in the Jonesboro Methodist Church in 1859. At the age of twenty he had completed his formal education and was licensed to preach. On his admission to Holston Conference in 1869 his first assignment was to his home town, where one of the first persons he received into the church was his own father. His later career as preacher, educator, bishop, and missionary was one of the most outstanding in the history of American Methodism. Many times over the years he returned to speak from the Jonesboro pulpit, and when his body was finally laid to rest the services were conducted there.

Following Bishop Hoss by a few years, first James Atkins and later R. G. Waterhouse were sent to the Jonesboro station for brief periods. Each of these later was elevated to the episcopacy, and served for many years in the governing body of Methodism.

The Rev. W. E. Munsey, considered to be one of the greatest pulpit orators the country has ever produced, married Miss Virginia Blair of Jonesboro, and lived in the town for several years. While never assigned to the Jonesboro station, he preached there many times, attracting large crowds each time it was announced that he would fill the pulpit. At an early age he died in the brick residence just east of the church, now the Methodist parsonage. His funeral was conducted by Dr. David Sullins, the Rev. E. E. Hoss, and Nathan Bachman.

The writer, a member of the Jonesboro Methodist Church for many years, is happy to be able to say that currently there is greater interest manifested in the church and its activities than at any time in his memory, and that the congregation bids fair to add much to the great work Methodism has done for more than a century and a half in making the community a better one.

EAST TENNESSEE UNIVERSITY: PRE-WAR YEARS, 1840-1861*

By Stanley J. Folmsbee

On January 29, 1840, the state legislature passed an act changing the name of East Tennessee College to East Tennessee University, and giving to the trustees "the right, power and privilege of holding real and personal property for the support of schools for the learned professions, to grant and confer medical degrees," and to "use and enjoy all other rights, privileges and powers usually conferred upon Universities."[1] The major distinction between a college and a university is that a university may have a somewhat wider range of offerings than a college, and within it may exist several colleges or schools. Whereas a college, according to *Webster's New International Dictionary,* is "a society of scholars, or friends of learning, incorporated for study or instruction, especially in the higher branches of knowledge," a university is "an instrument organized for teaching and study in the higher branches of learning, and empowered to confer degrees in special departments, as theology, law, medicine, and the arts."

Although the act of 1840 indicates some appreciation of this distinction by the use of the phrase "confer medical degrees," President Joseph Estabrook apparently was of the opinion that the terms college and university were "generally synonymous."[2] He was more concerned, it appears from his commencement address of 1838, with the failure of the public to distinguish between a college and an academy or common school. He strongly advocated the expansion of the common school and academy system, with state assistance, in order to provide a larger clientele from which the colleges would be able to draw students, but he believed that the state should subsidize not more than one central college or university in each of the three sections, East, Middle, and West Tennessee.[3] It is probable, therefore, that Eastabrook looked upon the change of the name of the institution as a means of setting it apart more definitely from the other so-called colleges in the state, and of counteracting the prejudice which had arisen against East Tennessee College because it was one of the two colleges which had received governmental assistance. The other institution,

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*For the earlier history of the institution see the writer's "Blount College and East Tennessee College, 1794-1840: The First Predecessors of the University of Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 17 (1945), 22-50 (reprinted in University of Tennessee *Record*, Vol. 49, No. 1, 1946).

[1]*Acts of Tennessee*, 1839-1840, Chapter 98, p. 186.

[2]Joseph Estabrook, *Popular Education. An address delivered at the annual Commencement of East Tennessee College, September* 12, 1838 (Knoxville, 1838), 14.

[3]*Ibid., passim.*

Cumberland College, incidentally, had become the University of Nashville in 1826.

It is nevertheless true that another factor which may have been involved in the change of name was the desire to have the institution authorized to establish a medical school. A movement in that direction was started in 1846, the same year in which two medical schools were opened in Memphis. The Knoxville effort, however, was not successful, although promoted vigorously by the "Medical Society of East Tennessee." On May 4, 1846, a committee of this society, composed of Doctors Samuel B. Cunningham, J. G. M. Ramsey, William Rodgers, Frank A. Ramsey, and Benjamin Rush Strong, addressed a communication to East Tennessee University, announcing that it had been appointed to confer with the officials of the University "upon the subject of forming such connections with that Institution as will lead to the creation of a Medical College or association for medical improvement, under the auspices of its charter." On the same date the secretary of the committee, Dr. Strong, wrote personally to President Estabrook expressing the hope that a University committee would be appointed in time to make possible the presentation of a report at the annual meeting of the society the following Thursday.[4] The trustees immediately complied, and on May 5 appointed Solomon D. Jacobs and Joseph L. King as a committee to confer with the physicians. When this committee made its report the next day, the board decided to postpone further consideration of the matter until the next regular semiannual meeting in August, because the subject was of such importance that it demanded "the mature consideration of a fuller board of Trustees than can be had at a called meeting." It was not until December 31, 1847, however, that the trustees resumed consideration of the proposal. At that time a committee of four was appointed to inquire into "the expediency of creating a Medical Faculty to be attached to the University of East Tennessee." This committee reported in favor of the project on January 28, 1848, with only one member, Dr. J. W. Paxton, dissenting. The board then resolved to select a medical faculty of seven members and on March 20, 1848, proceeded to elect four physicians to positions on that faculty.

Here the matter rested, however, until February 16, 1854, when another "proposition from certain Physicians" was referred by the board to the executive committee with instructions to report "Such terms of connection" of a medical school with the University "as they may deem expedient." One year later, on February 15, 1855, the executive committee recommended that the petition of "Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey and other physicians"

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[4]These letters are in the Correspondence of East Tennessee College and East Tennessee University (in the vault of the University of Tennessee Library). Hereafter cited, Correspondence, E. T. C. and E. T. U.

be granted and a medical department organized. Two of the physicians, Drs. Moorman and Currey, were present at the meeting and probably assisted in bringing about the immediate election of a medical faculty composed of the eight doctors recommended in the physicians' communication. On February 23 detailed "Regulations" for the medical department, as proposed by this faculty, were adopted. Several months later, however, July 3, 1856, the board of trustees adopted a resolution presented by William G. Swan, that since the medical faculty had failed to "take any action whatever," the executive committee should take such steps "as may be necessary to secure a course of medical lectures during the approaching winter, if they deem it proper to do so."[5] Whether or not the lectures were given is not known.

The next effort to establish a medical school in Knoxville occurred on January 16, 1858, when the University was temporarily in a state of suspension and devoid of both a president and a faculty. The medical society under the leadership of Dr. Richard O. Currey, a former member of the University's staff, applied "for the use of the University buildings for a Medical School." The board replied:

> The Trustees are well disposed to encourage any hopeful attempt to organize a Medical Department in the University; that the buildings of the Institution can not, however, be granted for that purpose, as it is expected they will be used for Academical purposes; and that whenever the names of competent gentlemen, who agree to serve, shall be presented to the Board for election as Professors of a Medical College, the Trustees will favorably consider them, and co-operate, so far as they are able, towards the success of such a department.[6]

Dr. Currey now changed his plan of attack and turned his attention to the possibility of obtaining state aid for his project along with the medical schools in Nashville and Memphis. Near the end of the legislative session of 1857-1858 a state senator from Memphis proposed to amend a bill establishing an East Tennessee State Hospital at Knoxville so as to provide that the "Old Lunatic Asylum" should be sold and $5,000 of the proceeds given to this hospital and the remainder divided equally between the medical schools of Nashville and Memphis. On March 16, 1858, Dr. Currey wrote to Moses White, who had introduced the hospital bill in the lower house,

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[5]In the meantime, Dr. Richard O. Currey, as editor of the *Southern Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences*, had contributed a series of articles to that periodical, presenting the claims of Knoxville as the best site for a southern medical college. *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, December 29, 1855.

[6]Moses White, *Early History of the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1879), 41-42; Minutes of the Board of Trustees, East Tennessee University (vault in President's Office), January 16, 1858. Hereafter cited as Minutes.

suggesting that a portion of the "remainder" should be assigned to the medical school of East Tennessee University.[7] Four days later Dr. Currey submitted another proposition to the board of trustees of the University, proposing the names of several physicians to compose the faculty of a medical department. On April 26, 1858, the board of trustees, which had previously obtained the services of the Rev. W. D. Carnes as president of the University, appointed a faculty for the medical school. This faculty, composed of five physicians, included as one of them Dr. Richard O. Currey. Strangely, Moses White said nothing in his history of the University about the letter he received from Dr. Currey while he was a member of the legislature, and there is no evidence in the legislative journals that it moved him to any action. If any effort was made, it was fruitless; no state aid was forthcoming. Nevertheless, in March, 1859, Dr. Currey pertinaciously renewed his application to the trustees of the University for aid in the establishment of a medical school, but was summarily quieted by the following resolution:

> That while we wish the enterprising gentlemen who have undertaken to build up a Medical School in this place every success, and would gladly aid them if we had the power, the Trustees are of the opinion that we have not the means at this time to render them such assistance as they desire, without materially lessening the influence of the Literary Department of the University.[8]

In his efforts to make East Tennessee University really deserving of its new name, President Estabrook, before his resignation in 1850, was most concerned with improving the collegiate department and with the hope of being able to discontinue the preparatory school. The name "Preparatory Department" was actually dropped in the catalogue of 1842, and those students not included in the collegiate classes were designated merely as "University students." Of these, this catalogue declared,

> several are qualified, with the exception of one or two branches, to join an advanced class, but are ranked here until this deficiency is made up. Others in this department are pursuing a partial course, more or less extensive, but are not designing to graduate; while others, still, are preparing to enter the next Freshman class.

The catalogue also pointed out that of the ninety-eight students enrolled, two thirds

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[7]Currey to White, March 16, 1858, in Correspondence, E. T. C. and E. T. U., *loc. cit.* Inscribed on the letter is a favorable endorsement of the idea by the Rev. Thos. W. Humes, chairman of the executive committee of the board of trustees and a future president of the University.

[8]White, *Early History*, 43-44; Minutes, March 23, 1859.

> are connected with the regular College classes. . .are intending to complete the four year course, and graduate. And by comparing the course of study prescribed for this institution, with that of the best northern Colleges, it will be found equally comprehensive and thorough. . . .
>
> From this brief statement the public will be enabled to judge whether our University is such only in name, or whether we have any just pretensions to be ranked by the side of Colleges in the older States.

This policy, the catalogue explained, was also responsible for the small number of students. There were very few young men in the section of the country served by the University "seeking what is properly designated a 'liberal education.' " Too many were satisfied with "attending a few sessions at some institution where only a few of the more practical branches are taught, and then, impatient of restraint and loss of time, as they very improperly regard it, they leave school, superficially educated, to engage in active business." The great majority of the students who resorted to East Tennessee University wished to "pursue a thorough and extended course of study, and thus qualify themselves for the learned professions." The statement, probably the words of President Estabrook, continues:

> If to have many students were the only desideratum, we conceive that it would be no difficult matter to double our present number. We have only to mix up the whole, as is done in Academies, and, we are sorry to say, in some Colleges, receive scholars of all ages, and of every degree of acquirement, and the object is accomplished. Now, no true friend of education can desire a change that would prove so detrimental to sound learning; and hence it is that the Trustees and Faculty of this Institution are resolved, notwithstanding our numbers may increase less rapidly, to make this University such an institution as its name imports. . . .[9]

The experiment of dropping the name "Preparatory Department" proved unsuccessful. By 1844 the name had been restored, although combined temporarily with the word "University," and the Rev. William O. Carnes had been designated as principal. Not until 1887 was the University able to dispense with a preparatory school. The "University Department," with which the preparatory school was temporarily associated, had originated in 1841 as a means of providing students with the opportunity to "attend to such branches as they choose, making their recitations with the Collegiate Classes."[10] Some of these students, not planning to enter the

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[9] *Catalogue of East Tennessee University*, 1842, pp. 15-16.
[10] *Ibid.*, 1841, p. 14.

learned professions, were apparently desirous, as many modern students are, of evading the subjects of Latin and Greek.

This non-classical course had attained a more recognized standing by 1844 and was designated as the "English Department," a name soon changed to "English and Scientific." It was also at that time serving as a training course for teachers. This opportunity for the University to make a more definite contribution in service to the state was an outgrowth of the legislature's efforts in 1836 and 1838, following an injunction imposed upon it by the constitutional convention of 1834, to promote the establishment of public schools. In 1836 the common school fund, which previously had been scattered among the counties and much of it lost, was concentrated under the control of a state superintendent of public instruction. Two years later, as a part of the act creating the Bank of Tennessee, this school fund was increased in amount and placed in the state bank as a part of its capital stock. The bank was required to set aside annually from its profits, for distribution among the counties, $100,000 for the support of common schools and $18,000 for the support of academies.[11] This stimulus to public and academic education in the state increased the demand for teachers, which East Tennessee University now sought to supply.

President Estabrook in his address of 1838 had stated that he did "not consider a classical education indispensable, or even necessary, at the present time, to the teachers of our common schools."[12] In accordance with this view, the catalogue of 1844 declared the objects of the English Department to be:

> 1st. To qualify young men to become teachers in the common schools and academies: 2nd. To give a thorough, practical English education to those who do not contemplate entering a profession, but who wish to prepare themselves for the ordinary occupations of life; in other words, to make intelligent men and useful citizens.

With a view to encouraging young men "to qualify themselves for the business of teaching," this catalogue announced that the trustees had resolved[13] to remit the tuition of two young men from each county in East Tennessee, subject to the following conditions. The applicant was required to be more than sixteen years of age and able to read and write, and was to produce testimonials of good moral character and "good natural talents." At the University the successful applicant was to "pursue the course of

[11]P. M. Hamer (ed.), *Tennessee: A History,* 4 vols. (New York, 1933), I, 356-57.

[12]Estabrook, *Popular Education,* 8.

[13]See Minutes, May 8, 1844. The Records of the Faculty, 1840-1857 (President's Office), reveal that the plan was proposed by Prof. James Garvin on April 7, 1844, and recommended by the faculty to the board of trustees on May 15.

study prescribed for the English Department, or those parts of it to which he has not already attended," and was required to "sign a written obligation that when he shall have completed his course of study, he will devote the succeeding three years to teaching school in East Tennessee."

The course of study in the English Department, designed to be covered in three years, was outlined in the catalogue of 1844 as follows:

FIRST YEAR

WINTER SESSION	SUMMER SESSION
Orthography; Defining.	Geography, continued.
Reading; Speaking.	Written Arithmetic, commenced.
Mental Arithemetic, (Colburn)	English Grammar, commenced.
Geography, commenced.	Parker's Exercises in Composition.
Parker's Exercises in Composition.	Elocution.

SECOND YEAR

WINTER SESSION	SUMMER SESSION
English Grammar, continued.	Arithmetic, continued.
Algebra; Watt's On the Mind.	Geometry.
History of the United States.	Bookkeeping; Penmanship.
Exercises in Composition and Declamation.	Ancient and Modern History.
Political Class Book.	Composition and Declamation.

THIRD YEAR

WINTER SESSION	SUMMER SESSION
Chemistry; Logic.	Experimental Philosophy.
Astronomy; Trigonometry.	Surveying; Mensuration.
Elements of Psychology.	Mineralogy and Geology; Botany.
Compositions.	*Art of School Teaching.*
Intellectual and Moral Philosophy.	Original Declamation; Rhetoric.

During the last year an opportunity will be given to attend lectures on Engineering and Architecture.[14]

This rather modern, three years' English course was modified about two years later. The course of study in the English and Scientific Department was described in the catalogue of 1846-1847 merely as "similar to that of the Collegiate, with the exception of the study of Languages."[15] At about the same time the teaching obligation of the tuition-free students was changed to "as many years after they leave the Institution as they shall have enjoyed its advantages." These students were still required, however, to complete the "English and Scientific course of study." It is unknown, unfortunately, how long the first course in the "Art of School Teaching"

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[14]*Catalogue of East Tennessee University*, 1844, pp. 10-11. Italics are mine.

[15]*Ibid.*, 1846-1847, p. 16. Beginning in 1847-1848, the last phrase was changed to read "with the exception of the Latin and Greek Languages."

continued to be taught at the University.

For several years after this policy of teacher training was adopted the enrollment in the English and Scientific Department gradually increased until it reached forty-five students in 1848-1849, accounting for a little more than forty per cent of the total enrollment for that year.[16] Thereafter, it appears, the proportion as well as the number of students in the English and Scientific Department declined, so much so that they were combined with those in the Preparatory Department in the later catalogues. This teacher-training program must have been of considerable value to the common schools of East Tennessee. The catalogue for 1849-1850 called attention to the fact that teachers while "pursuing the prescribed course of instruction" would be allowed to "engage in teaching during several of the summer months, being from time to time furnished according to merit, with the testimonial of the Faculty." Thus teachers, it stated, "need not be deterred, by want of means" from attending the institution, because by engaging in teaching as soon as qualified they would be able to meet all their necessary expenses. "Many more applicants for teachers," the catalogue declared, "are every year made to the President than he is able to supply."[17]

Thus, beginning during President Estabrook's administration, the course of study at East Tennessee University was divided into three "Departments of Instruction": the Collegiate, the English and Scientific, and the Preparatory. The last named was continued reluctantly, as a necessary evil. The English and Scientific Department was in effect a forerunner of a college of education, but the students who completed this course were not entitled to degrees and were not listed among the graduates of the institution. It was upon the excellence of the Collegiate Department that the institution rested its chief claim to being a university. The other departments existed as a means of dividing the sheep from the goats, and thus, while providing increased financial resources, avoided interference with the main work of training young men in the classical manner for the learned professions.

Probably as a result of his placing major emphasis upon the collegiate course, President Estabrook, in 1847, introduced another innovation—the dividing of the collegiate course of study into several "departments," using the word in the modern sense. Although from the time of the printing of

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[16]Consequently, but also because of financial difficulties, the trustees on August 4, 1849, adopted a recommendation of the principal of the Preparatory Department and authorized the dropping from the course "prescribed for training of teachers" the following subjects: analytical geometry, descriptive geometry, trigonometry, civil engineering, botany, mineralogy, geology, logic, anatomy and physiology, natural theology, chemistry lectures, political economy, and laws of nations. With these omissions, the course did not differ greatly from that of the Preparatory Department, except for its omission of languages.

[17]*Ibid.*, 1849-1850, p. 14. See also *ibid.*, 1851-1852, pp. 27-28.

the first catalogue, in 1838, the members of the faculty had been listed as "Professors" of specific fields of learning, such as ancient languages, mathematics, etc., these fields had not attained separate identity as "departments" within the course of study. In the catalogue for 1847-1848, however, the collegiate course of study was divided into the "Classical Department," the "Mathematical Department," the "Department of Natural Sciences," and the "Department of Mental and Moral Philosophy, &c." The Rev. A. Alexander Doak, A.M., professor of Latin and Greek languages, headed the Classical Department and taught specified Latin and Greek courses to the freshmen, sophomores, and juniors, and conducted "Reviews" for the seniors. The Mathematical Department was headed by Albert M. Lea, A.M., professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, and included courses for freshmen in algebra and arithmetic; for the sophomores in geometry, trigonometry, and surveying; for the juniors in geometry and "Olmsted's Natural Philosophy" - mechanics, hydrostatics, and hydraulics; and for the seniors "Lectures on Civil Engineering and Architecture." The Department of Natural Sciences was open to juniors and seniors only, to whom Richard O. Currey, A. M., M. D., taught chemistry, "not only theoretically," but also, using experiments, showing its "application to Mineralogy, Geology, the Arts and Agriculture"; botany; the section of "Olmsted's *Natural Philosophy* dealing with "Pneumatics, Acoustics, and Optics, Electricity, Galvanism, &c"; astronomy; and mineralogy and geology, "with especial reference to the formations and mineral resources of our country; illustrated with Cabinet specimens, maps and sections." He also lectured on "Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, in connection with Natural Theology." Apparently, only the seniors had the pleasure of being instructed by the president, Joseph Estabrook, A. M., professor of mental and moral philosophy. Under his direction they studied moral philosophy, intellectual philosophy, logic, political economy, laws of nations, and evidences of Christianity. The catalogue stated that in addition to the courses listed under these four departments, instruction was also given in "Latin and Greek Theses and Translations," English grammar and rhetoric, ancient and modern history, and French, as well as weekly exercises in declamation and composition. The two other members of the faculty at that time were Samuel A. Jewett, A. M., principal of the Preparatory and the English and Scientific departments, and R. L. Kirkpatrick, tutor.[18]

The practice of dividing the collegiate course of study into departments was continued during the administration of President Estabrook's successor, W. B. Reese, but it was not followed in the catalogue for 1853-

[18]The collegiate course continued to be modeled after those in use in New England institutions. An advertisement in the newspapers stated that the collegiate course was "equally extensive with that at Yale, or any Northern College." *Knoxville Register*, February 17, 1847.

1854, after the Rev. George Cooke had become president. Instead, the subjects in the course of study were divided according to classes, freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior, prefaced by an outline of the preparatory course. The curriculum, meanwhile, had undergone a significant change. The modern languages French and German were included in the course of study for all four years, and history was entirely omitted. Moreover, the English and Scientific Department was described as including not only the "English and Scientific Studies" of the college curriculum, but also "an extended course" in civil engineering.

In this same catalogue, 1853-1854, there appeared the first statement of the requirements for the A.B. degree since the brief comment made in the catalogue of 1841 that the candidates for this degree were required "to pay the Treasurer of the University $6.50." The "Laws" had provided since 1829, however, for the completion of "the course prescribed for the institution."[19] The publication of a more detailed statement in 1854 was probably due to an important change which had been made in the requirements. Contrary to the classical trend still characteristic of most institutions of higher learning of that day, the substitution of one modern language for either Latin or Greek was permitted as a part of the work for the degree. The reluctance of the faculty in making this concession is indicated by the phraseology of the remainder of the statement:

> This alternative is not recommended, as of equivalent value in the scheme of a liberal education, but allowed to such as need proficiency in the Modern Languages, for social or commercial purposes, and whose age or pecuniary means restrict them to this election.
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> The general policy of this Institution is to insist upon the most thorough and critical course in the Ancient Languages; in the belief that no substitute can be found equally efficient, and that better service is rendered to the country in the graduation of one *scholar,* than of many but partially educated.[20]

Also included in this statement regarding degrees was the information that for the degree of master of arts "the completion of all the courses designated, including one Modern Language," was required. This appears to have been the first provision for what might be considered as master's degree to be earned in residence, but there is no evidence that any degree

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[19] *Laws of the College of East Tennessee, Enacted by the Board, October,* 1829 (Knoxville, 1829); *Laws of the College of East Tennessee, Enacted by the Board, April* 1838 (Knoxville, 1838).

[20] *Annual Announcement of the East Tennessee University,* 1853-54, pp. 20-21. Further evidence of the continued emphasis upon the ancient languages is the Latinized style in which this same catalogue was printed, the only one to be so characterized by pedantry.

of that type was ever granted during the pre-Civil War period of the history of East Tennessee University. Throughout the whole period the usual "Master of Arts in Course" degree, customary at most institutions of higher learning of that day, continued to be conferred. It was based on the provision in the laws of the University, which had been in effect since 1829, stating:

> Every Bachelor in the third year after his first degree, if he shall have sustained a fair character, and shall perform such exercises as shall be assigned to him shall be entitled to the degree of Master of Arts, for which he shall pay the same perquisite as for the first degree.

There was an increased tendency on the part of the graduates of the institution to return after the passage of three years or more and obtain this second degree. Forty of such A.M. degrees were conferred between 1840 and 1861, as compared with eleven (two of which were probably honorary—to faculty members) between 1827 and 1840. What "exercises" they were required to perform is not known.[21]

East Tennessee University also conferred several honorary degrees during the pre-war period. One was an honorary A.B. to a future president of the institution, W. D. Carnes, in 1842, even though he was listed as a member of the senior class in the catalogue of the same year. He obtained the A.M. in course three years later. Two were A.M. degrees: to Albert M. Lea, a member of the faculty, in 1844; and to R. Shepherd in 1856. Two honorary doctorates were conferred: the LL.D. on another future president, W. B. Reese, in 1844; and the D.D. on the Rev. M. M. Marshall in 1860.[22]

Returning to the unique catalogue of 1853-1854, it should be noted that Moses White, in his *Early History*, was severely critical of this catalogue, expressing doubt as to whether five of the nine faculty members listed were at that time connected with the institution.[23] Apparently then, the liberalization of requirements made at that time was due more to necessity than to desire. East Tennessee University was struggling with rapidly decreasing vigor in the face of adversity. It will be necessary to review some of the financial and sectarian difficulties which had faced the University.

In 1840 the institution had entered upon what it had thought would

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[21]Eugene Upshaw, Development of the Graduate Program at the University of Tennessee (Master's thesis, University of Tennessee, August, 1947), 41-51, 56-57. The name "Master of Arts in Course" was not actually used at East Tennessee University until after the Civil War, but the degrees conferred were obviously of that type.

[22]*Ibid.*, 59-60. In the case of Carnes he was recommended by the faculty on July 13, 1842, for a regular A. B. degree; but the board made it honorary according to the Minutes, August 2, 1842.

[23]Page 39. This view is supported by the Minutes of the Board of Trustees.

be a new era in its history with high hopes of great endeavor and unexampled prosperity. The grant of land in the Ocoee district in 1838[24] had been followed not only by the adoption of the more exalted title "University" but also by the inauguration of a building program. On December 1, 1838, the trustees of East Tennessee College authorized the construction of additional buildings. Some time later, Thomas Crutchfield, the same contractor who had built the main edifice, "Old College," contracted to erect two three-story dormitories (East College and West College) and two "houses and appurtenances on the right and left slopes" of the hill. These houses were apparently used for several years as professors' dwellings, but were later "appropriated to other purposes," probably as dormitories. The total cost of these improvements, which the trustees paid after some protest in 1843, was a little less than $21,000.[25]

During 1847-1848 another improvement of note was provided in the form of a University "water works." Col. W. B. A. Ramsey contracted with the trustees "to throw water from the Factory Spring to the Campus of the University, and to supply to each of the Professors' houses a sufficiency of water." The water from this spring, located at the southeastern base of the hill, "was forced by means of a water-wheel and pump, through a lead pipe of a half inch calibre to the campus." According to Moses White, a hydrant was situated near the sun-dial, "opposite the south door of the center building," and "doled out, with most annoying irregularity, a reluctant stream of what was termed in the Catalogue, 'an abundant supply of pure and healthful water.' " The operation of the water works was suspended in 1861 "in consequence of the removal of the lead pipe by the Confederate authorities."[26]

The rosy anticipation engendered by the new name, new buildings, improved equipment, and enlarged faculty failed to materialize. A large part of the Ocoee land funds was soon expended; the expected increase in patronage was forestalled by the competition of the numerous small colleges and academies sprouting up throughout the state;[27] and the trustees, the faculty, and the public were soon involved in bitter "sectarian wrangling."

The involvement of East Tennessee University in sectarian controversy was quite natural in view of the doctrinal debates which were raging so bitterly during the 1840's among the Baptists, the Methodists, and the

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[24]For the story of the early land grants to the institution, see the writer's "Blount College and East Tennessee College," *loc. cit.*, 28-35.

[25]*Ibid.*, 34. See also Correspondence, E. T. C. and E. T. U.

[26]White, *Early History*, 36-37. See also Minutes, March 6, 17, 1847, August 12, 1848.

[27]The University of Nashville faced a similar problem. Its president, Dr. Philip Lindsley, stated that in 1848 there were thirty colleges within 200 miles of Nashville, as compared with none in 1824. Henry Lee Swint, "Higher Education in the Tennessee-Kentucky Region a Century Ago," in *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), II (June, 1943), 131.

Presbyterians. Because of the Compact of 1806 and other land grants the University was looked upon as a state institution. Although the non-sectarian feature of the Blount College charter was not repeated in the act of 1807, the trustees had repeatedly stated that no sectarian doctrines were being taught at the institution. Nevertheless, in 1841 two of the five members of the faculty were Presbyterian ministers and the president himself had studied for the same profession. As a result East Tennessee University was attacked for being too closely identified with the Presbyterian Church. This is evidenced by a resolution proposed by Solomon D. Jacobs at a meeting of the board of trustees on August 9, 1841:

> Although it is a well known fact that the only book on Theology studied at East Tennessee University is Paley's Moral Philosophy, yet whereas it is thought by some that an impression exists in the Community that there is too much sectarianism, or in other words Presbyterianism in East Tennessee University, which notwithstanding its present and constantly increasing prosperity is by some believed to be calculated to detract from its usefuless; and whereas it is deemed by many to be right and proper that in the selection of Teachers the Trustees should manifest a proper regard for public opinion therefore, Resolved that such Professors in East Tennessee University as are Presbyterian Ministers be and they are hereby dismissed from the Institution, and that their places be filled, one by a member of the Methodist, and the other by a member of the Baptist Churches, but neither to be a minister of the gospel.

This resolution failed, but less than a year later, on March 21, 1842, one of the two Presbyterian ministers, the Rev. R. B. McMullen, voluntarily submitted his resignation. He explained that he had "long been of the opinion that in ordinary cases it was not proper for a Minister of the Gospel to be encumbered with any other business than that which properly appertained to his office." He had decided months before to submit his resignation but had postponed this action

> lest it might embarrass the Board in supplying the places. . . . But now as some students have already left and many others it is said, will leave for awhile, rendering in that event, the labours of fewer instructors necessary, it seems proper that I present it immediately, that no further expense than necessary be incurred.

The board at first refused to accept his resignation but eventually acquiesced.[28]

The other Presbyterian minister, the Rev. W. J. Keith,[29] remained connected with the institution until his services were finally dispensed with in the interest of economy in 1845. As early as 1843 the University was again faced with financial difficulties. On March 4 of that year the trustees discontinued the payment of salaries of specific amounts to the members of the faculty. A salary fund of $30,000 was set aside and the members of the faculty were paid specified proportions of the interest on this fund plus the same proportions of the total tuition fees received. Although the amount of this salary fund was soon increased, dissatisfaction apparently was so great that about a year later the policy of paying definite salaries was resumed, but the amounts were smaller than they had been before the salary fund was created.[30] The financial condition of the institution remaining precarious, however, the board returned on March 13, 1845, to the policy of pro rata payments, the amounts contingent upon interest and tuition fees, but "in no event" larger than those of the "last session." Later that year a committee of trustees reported that "Whereas it is deemed necessary to dispense with one of the Professors. . .for the present and until the amount of funds proper to be appropriated to the payment of adequate salaries" should be available, all the chairs should be "declared vacated" and the board should proceed to elect "a President, two Professors. and a Principal of the preparatory department." This procedure was followed and all members of the faculty were re-elected to their positions except the Rev. W. J. Keith.[31]

Very quickly thereafter the financial condition of the University improved as a result of the rapid increase in enrollment until, during the year 1846-47, the number of students reached the highest total, 169, achieved during the period before the Civil War.[32] On January 5, 1846, R. L. Kirkpatrick was engaged as assistant tutor, and a committee was

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[28]The letter of resignation and subsequent action and correspondence are in the Minutes, March 21, April 2, April 16, 1841. The letter of resignation is also in Correspondence, E. T. C. and E. T. U. McMullen later became president of Knoxville Female Seminary.

[29]The Jacobs resolution mentioned above was occasioned by a demand on the part of another member of the board that Keith be dismissed because of certain "words spoken" by him about the University.

[30]Minutes, March 4, August 14, 1843, March 8, 1844.

[31]*Ibid.*, August 10, 1845. Later the board declared in reply to a letter from Keith that his dismissal had been "due entirely to lack of funds" and because his work, the ancient languages, could be "more easily distributed" than that of the other members of the faculty. *Ibid.*, March 9, 1846.

[32]Sixty-nine of these came from outside of Tennessee: 45 from Alabama, 14 from Georgia, 7 from Mississippi, and one each from South Carolina, Louisiana, and Texas. The next year eleven states besides Tennessee contributed 59 students of the total enrollment of 142: Alabama, 33; Mississippi, 7; Georgia, 7; Louisiana, 3; Ohio, 2; South Carolina, 2; and New York, Virginia, Kentucky, Florida, and Texas one each.

appointed to consider the advisability of employing an additional professor. On August 8, 1847, Darius Lyman, who was then serving as a tutor, was elected professor of ancient languages, but about a month later he resigned. In their efforts to find a well-qualified teacher of Greek and Latin, the trustees were finally forced to resort once again to the Presbyterian ministry in the person of the Rev. A. Alexander Doak, who was elected professor of languages on December 31, 1847.

The election of Professor Doak—a grandson of Tennessee's first Presbyterian preacher, Samuel Doak—aroused some opposition among the trustees, and it seems also to have occasioned the revival of discord in the ranks of the faculty. On June 17, 1848, the board adopted a long preamble and resolutions submitted by the Episcopalian rector, the Rev. Thomas W. Humes, stating that the board

> deeply regrets the existing dissensions in the Community, growing as it believes, out of the ecclesiastical divisions in our midst, and the disposition on the part of the different religious denominations to exert, each for itself, what it considers its just and equitable share of influence in the education of the youth of the Country.

The board, while "fully recognizing the propriety of this disposition," felt that "the right to act upon it, ought to be exercised by all, in the spirit of moderation and forbearance towards others." It was resolved that the preamble and resolutions be communicated to the faculty, and "esteeming such a work to be truly a labor of love," that "they be affectionately and earnestly entreated," to unite their efforts with those of the board towards "the restoration of social harmony."

It appears, however, that the discord within the faculty was a result not merely of sectarianism, but also of a difference of opinion regarding the advisability of continuing the classical emphasis in the course of study. The growth of industry and trade and the increased emphasis upon the more utilitarian skills led to heated controversies over the curriculum in many institutions of higher learning during the period from 1840 to 1860.[33] It is natural, therefore, that East Tennessee University, considered by many a state institution, should have faced a similar problem. In 1848 the controversy revolved around a demand that greater emphasis should be placed upon the English language, as well as other modern languages, rather than

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[33]Swint, "Higher Education. . .A Century Ago," *loc. cit.* The University of Nashville finally yielded to the clamor and offered a bachelor of science degree, for which French and German could be substituted for Greek and Latin. Swint is in error, however, in stating that East Tennessee University in 1850 offered "two degrees," one of them in an "English and scientific" course. As indicated above, the English and scientific course did not lead to a degree. East Tennessee University eventually preferred to liberalize the A. B. requirements.

upon Greek and Latin. For several years an agitation had been developing in the faculty in favor of the creation of a department of English Literature or Belles-Lettres. Finally the board of trustees acquiesced to the point of creating a special committee to study the question. This committee submitted majority and minority reports on August 10, 1848. Even the majority report was very eloquent in its discussion of the great importance of the English language, and in its criticism of the lack of proper training in the schools and of the policy of most colleges and schools of ignoring English in favor of the ancient languages. It admitted the need for a department of Belles-Lettres at the University, but declared that adequate funds were not then available. As a temporary expedient it recommended "that regular exercises in spelling, English grammar, composition, and declamation shall be kept up, and rigidly enforced throughout the collegiate term," with the possible exception of the senior year. These exercises were to be under the direction of R. L. Kirkpatrick. It also recommended that special attention be bestowed by the senior class on "composition, elocution and Rhetoric" under the supervision of Professor Doak.

The minority report, signed by Solomon D. Jacobs, recommended the immediate establishment of a "Department of Bel-Letter [*sic*]" with the Reverend Doak as professor, who was to be relieved of his work in the ancient languages by Kirkpatrick. Jacobs admitted that it "may be difficult to fill the chair of Languages, with so finished or critically correct a linguist as Mr. Doak," but he insisted that "if under the existing organization of the University, it is not practicable to secure an equally high grade of instructor in all the departments; the deficiency, if any, should certainly not be that of *Bel-Letter.*"

A few months later, on October 14, 1848, Professor Doak submitted his resignation and left the institution to become president of Washington College. Kirkpatrick was recommended for his place, but failed of election, and the filling of the vacancy was postponed until the next regular meeting of the board. In the meantime Kirkpatrick's salary was increased by $100 to compensate him for the additional duties involved in the assumption of the Reverend Doak's classes. On the same date the revolt against classicism, which appears to have been involved, was further evidenced by a motion made by John H. Crozier. He moved that a committee of trustees be appointed to consider the subject of obtaining the services of "some suitable person to lecture on Legal subjects, preparatory to establishing a regular Professor of Law." A committee of three was appointed, but there is no evidence that it ever submitted a report.

At the regular meeting of the board on March 3, 1849, Kirkpatrick was finally elected professor of languages, but by that time the financial condition of the University had again become precarious. A special com-

mittee on finances closed its report, submitted on August 11, 1849, with the following words: "From the foregoing statement of the *real* condition of the University the Trustees will perceive that without a very large increase of patronage the annual expenses will have to be lessened either by reducing the number of Teachers or the amount of their salaries." This report was communicated to the faculty together with a statement of policy by the board that "the capital fund ought not to be and will not be encroached upon for any purpose."

Within six months after this action was taken three of the five members of the faculty, including President Estabrook, had submitted their resignations. At the same meeting at which the President's resignation was accepted, March 4, 1850, the board created a special committee of five to "take into consideration the subject of a re-organization of the University, on and after the close of the present College year." A few days later the board adopted a resolution providing that in view of the need of accumulating funds for the purpose of reorganizing the faculty and increasing the number of professors, no appropriations should be made for the payment of the salaries of the president and other faculty members for the ensuing session "other than moneys arising from tuition and other fees." This reduction in salaries was followed immediately by the resignations of the two faculty members who had not previously resigned, and thus left the way open for a complete reorganization of the institution.[34]

This crisis in the affairs of the East Tennessee University appears to have been due in part to the revival of the sectarian controversy. During the last half of the year 1849 and the first part of 1850 the institution became involved in a bitter debate in the columns of two Knoxville newspapers, the *Knoxville Register* and the *Methodist Episcopalian*. Although he was no longer connected with the institution, the name of the Rev. A. A. Doak was involved in the controversy. In January, 1850, the Methodist paper declared that "the bringing of Professor Doak to E. T. University, was, under the circumstances, an outrage upon a large portion of the patrons of the Institution." At that time, the editor claimed, the Methodist Church had a larger representation in the student body than all other churches combined.[35] This attack on Professor Doak was an outgrowth of a bitter sectarian controversy between the Presbyterians and the Methodists which had been going on since 1846, with the notorious Frederick A. Ross denouncing the Methodists in the columns of the *Calvinistic Magazine* and "Parson" W. G. Brownlow replying in equally vituperative language in his *Jonesborough Monthly*

[34]Minutes, December 31, 1849, February 28, March 4, 8, 1850. President Estabrook's brief letter of resignation, dated February 28, 1850, is in the Correspondence, E. T. C. and E. T. U. Also there is the resignation of S. A. Jewett, principal of the Preparatory Department, who vigorously protested against the trustees' order reducing salaries.

[35]*Methodist Episcopalian*, January 8, 1850.

Review.[36] Shortly after Doak had left East Tennessee University to become president of Washington College, he had invited Ross to preach for him at the College and had recommended the *Calvinistic Magazine* to his congregation and the public. He had thereby aroused the ire of "Parson" Brownlow and other Methodists.[37] About the time Brownlow moved to Knoxville in 1850, the *Methodist Episcopalian* of that city expanded its attack against Doak to include his former employer, East Tennessee University, alleging continued Presbyterian domination.

This Methodist attack, in conjunction with other causes of dissatisfaction, finally resulted in legislative action directed against the University, which appears to have been the immediate occasion for the resignation of President Estabrook. In obvious satisfaction with the results of its campaign, the *Methodist Episcopalian* was "gratified to learn that the Legislature is of our opinion, and has appointed some additional Trustees, and passed an act requiring regular reports of the Condition of the Institution; and if proper measures are now adopted, we hope it will enjoy a measure of patronage, which for obvious reasons has been hitherto withheld."[38] Strangely enough, "Parson" Brownlow did not participate directly in this controversy, except by reprinting in the columns of his *Knoxville Whig* numerous items from the *Methodist Episcopalian*. Finally, however, in April, 1850, in reply to an inquiry as to why he did not print more news about the doings of the trustees and faculty of East Tennessee University, he declared, editorially,

> that the *peculiar guardians* of that Institution here, have an organ [*Knoxville Register*] through which its interests can be made known. When the Trustees shall have re-organized the University next fall, and distributed its patronage among the different Churches, or a part of them, as they may deem proper, it being a *State* Institution, we may deem it proper to say a good deal. Until then we have nothing more to say.[39]

It was under these difficult circumstances that the enlarged board of trustees undertook a reorganization of the University in 1850. On March 23 of that year the board, following the recommendation of the reorganization committee, elected to the presidency the Honorable William B. Reese, a prominent Knoxville lawyer and former justice of the state supreme court, who had been honored by the University with the LL.D. degree

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[36]E. Merton Coulter, *William G. Brownlow* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 53-65.

[37]*Ibid.* See also *Jonesborough Monthly Review*, II (September-October, 1848), 326-29.

[38]Quoted in *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, February 23, 1850. See also *Acts of Tennessee*, 1849-1850, p. 331.

[39]*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig*, April 13, 1850.

in 1844. By July 30, 1850, the committee had recommended and the board had elected five other professors for the institution: a Professor Litton of St. Louis, to the chair of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology; Henry Erni of New York, professor of modern languages and assistant professor of natural science; the Rev. A. Alexander Doak, professor of ancient languages; Albert M. Lea, professor of natural philosophy and civil engineering; and R. L. Kirkpatrick, professor of mathematics and assistant professor of English literature.[40]

Other than President Reese, only Henry Erni and R. L. Kirkpatrick accepted the positions offered. Professor Doak replied with a conditional acceptance, the conditions being that his salary should "*certainly* not be less than before," that he should be furnished a decent house to live in, and that there should be no "sectarian wrangling" about his appointment.[41] The committee was instructed to inform Doak that the board had decided not to pay fixed salaries, but that the president was to receive $350 and each professor $250 per year, plus pro-rata portions of the entire receipts from tuition fees, provided the president's salary did not exceed $1,500 per year and a professor's salary, $1,000 per year. Professor Doak thereupon declined the offer.[42]

With considerable difficulty the board finally succeeded in assembling a faculty, despite numerous other resignations and replacements. According to the catalogue for 1851-1852 it included the Hon. W. B. Reese, LL.D., "President, and Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy and International Law"; R. L. Kirkpatrick, A.M., "Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy"; Henry Erni, A.M., "Professor of Chemistry, Natural History and Modern Languages"; James M. Cushing, "Instructor in Latin and Greek Languages"; and R. L. Jones, "Tutor."[43] Regardless of the revolt against classicism, the course of study as outlined in this catalogue was exactly the same as it had been at the close of Estabrook's administration. About the only change made in the operation of the University while Reese was president was a change in the times of the winter and summer sessions. The opening date for the winter session was moved from the "Second Thursday of October" to the second Thursday in September, and this session closed on the first Friday after the second Thursday in February.

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[40]Minutes, March 23, May 4, July 30, 1850. On this last date the board adopted resolutions drafted by Humes expressing grateful appreciation of the "zeal, industry and success, with which for a long series of years" President Estabrook had performed the duties of his office. Estabrook retired to Anderson County, where he attempted to engage in the manufacture of salt.

[41]This letter, dated August 17, 1850, is in the Correspondence, E. T. C. and E. T. U.

[42]Minutes, August 22, September 4, 1850.

[43]Previously, J. H. Myers had served as professor of ancient languages, and Darius Lyman had been elected to that position but declined. Later J. B. Mitchell succeeded Erni as professor of chemistry and geology, and W. H. Hopper was elected professor of ancient languages. Minutes, 1850-1853, *passim.*

The summer session began one week later and ended on the first Wednesday in July instead of the first Wednesday in August.[44]

The difficulties under which the institution was struggling are made evident by the serious decline in enrollment. In the catalogue of 1851-1852 only sixty-six students were listed, the smallest number listed in any catalogue, including those of East Tennessee College, issued prior to the Civil War. In this impoverished condition, on January 17, 1852, the trustees submitted a report to the state comptroller as required by the act of 1850. They explained that they had not at first considered the University as being included in the terms of the act, which required annual reports from educational institutions receiving aid from the state, because "we have never received any portion of the State's funds; on the contrary, the State, by its legislation, has reduced our funds received from North Carolina, through Congress [Compact of 1806], not less in principal and interest, than *fifty thousand dollars,* which in equity and conscience, they ought to take an early opportunity to make good."

This effort to turn the legislative act back against the legislature was ineffectual, and on February 19, 1853, President Reese presented his resignation, effective at the close of the college year. To succeed him the trustees at first chose the Rev. John Wheeler, D.D., formerly president of the University of Vermont, but he declined.[45] On August 27 the Rev. George Cooke, a native of New Hampshire who was then serving as principal of a female academy in Knoxville and as pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church, accepted the presidency. By that time, however, two other members of the faculty had resigned, and the trustees postponed the opening of the University until the beginning of the next session, in February, 1853. In the meantime, the one remaining professor, James B. Mitchell, was authorized to "teach such students as may attend." At the same time the board created an executive committee to "fill temporary vacancies."[46]

According to Moses White, President Cooke, a graduate of Dartmouth, "was possessed of acknowledged ability, and brought to bear almost unprecedented zeal in an ineffectual effort to recuperate the languishing University."[47] Under his direction the trustees reduced salaries, increased the tuition,[48] and revised the course of study. In addition to the emphasis upon modern languages instead of Greek and Latin, as mentioned above, the

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[44]*Ibid.*, March 11, 1852.

[45]Minutes, July 9, August 13, 1853. In the first vote Wheeler had tied with Professor Kirkpatrick, 8 to 8, after two other proposed names, William Shelton and the Rev. A. A. Doak, had been withdrawn.

[46]*Ibid.*, August 31, 1853; University of Tennessee *Record*, 1898, p. 271.

[47]White, *Early History*, 38.

[48]From $18.50 to $20.00 per session in the Collegiate and the upper classes if the English and Scientific departments, and from $11.00 to $15.00 in the Preparatory Department. Minutes, September 2, 1853.

board adopted an arrangement of studies in vogue at the University of Virginia. According to this plan "pupils can be classed in each branch where their attainments or talents require or permit, and so as to allow the attainment of degrees by examination irrespective of time." The practice was also adopted of charging chemistry students for chemicals used in their experiments; thus a "laboratory fee" was instituted. Moreover, the professor of chemistry and geology, James B. Mitchell, was given "liberty" to be absent to collect materials for the cabinet of mineralogy and natural history.[49]

During the Cooke administration the alumni association of the University was stimulated into increased activity. Following a call sent out by a committee headed by W. G. Swan, the association was reorganized in February, 1856, and the Rev. Thomas W. Humes was elected president. Among other things it offered a prize of fifty dollars to the student who made the best speech at each commencement program.[50] The association was active also in sponsoring the establishment either of a medical school or a course of medical lectures at the University.[51] Not only did the period of President Cooke's presidency include one of the unsuccessful efforts to organize a medical school, but it also included an effort to unite with the Western Military Institute, of Tyree Springs, and bring that military academy to Knoxville. A consolidation agreement was actually negotiated, but the city of Nashville outbid the University and the military school moved to that town instead.[52] Near the end of his regime, President Cooke proposed the establishment of an agricultural department. The suggestion had come from the University of Nashville and West Tennessee College at Jackson, and the trustees responded with the appointment of a committee to confer with the agricultural societies of East Tennessee; but nothing further seems to have been done.[53]

The energetic efforts of the Rev. George Cooke to rehabilitate East Tennessee University were hindered considerably by a revival of popular disfavor. As Moses White expressed it:

> Soon after Capt. Cook [*sic*] had gotten the old craft under his command, corked, righted and re-rigged, and had about released her from the breakers in which she had been floundering for several years, and was moving out into a deep smooth sea. . .an unexpected broadside from a leading political paper in Knoxville, because forsooth she was commanded by a Northern Captain, so seriously disabled her as to materially retard the progress of the

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[49]*Ibid.*, February 16, 1854.

[50]*Knoxville Register*, December 13, 1855, February 21, July 10, 1856. The winner of the award at the July, 1856, commencement was William A. Henderson.

[51]Minutes, June 28, 1856.

[52]*Ibid.*, February 22, 23, March 1, 1855; White, *Early History*, 40.

[53]Minutes, June 26, 1846.

> voyage. There was danger that sentiments, prejudicial to the "Peculiar Institution" of the South would be inculcated and imbibed; so Southerners were advised not to permit their sons to take passage on that "Piratical Craft."[54]

Finally, on January 7, 1857, President Cooke submitted his resignation, to become effective at the close of the session. About a month later two other members of the faculty resigned, a development which brought about renewed consideration of a proposal that the operations of the University be suspended, pending a new reorganization of the faculty. This proposal was rejected, and on July 7, 1857, the Rev. Thomas W. Humes was elected president, and three other faculty members were chosen. Every one of these appointees, however, declined to accept, and a short time later, J. F. Pearl of Nashville also refused to accept the presidency. In the meantime, the board had considered selling the University's property and moving the institution to a new location. The medical society was also on hand with a proposal to make use of the buildings for a medical school. These suggestions were all turned down, and the trustees renewed their search for a president and were finally successful in obtaining the services of the Rev. W. D. Carnes of Burritt College, of Van Buren County, who accepted the position in April, 1858.[55]

While the University was in a state of suspension, the trustees submitted another report to the comptroller of the state as required by the act of 1850. Although they still questioned the right of the legislature to inquire into the use of the University's funds, they were willing to "waive, for the present, any question of authority," since they believed the law was "conceived, not in an inimical but friendly spirit," and they had "no reason for concealment." The report explained the suspension of operations on the grounds that the number of students in attendance had been diminishing "until it became, during the last year, so small as clearly to indicate a great indifference toward the institution in the public mind, and to induce the resignation of the Faculty." This indifference was due, the trustees

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[54]White, *Early History*, 39. *Brownlow's Knoxville Whig* had also protested previously (July 30, 1853) the selection of Dr. John Wheeler of Vermont to the presidency, on the grounds that he was a "Free Soiler"; and it had correctly prophesied his declining the appointment, allegedly on the private advice of certain members of the board. That the University at an earlier day had not been devoid of abolitionist sentiments is indicated by the fact that in 1841 one of its professors, L. F. Clark, had been described as "one of the most ardent abolitionists with whom I have become acquainted." Henry Lee Swint, "Ezekial Birdseye and the Free State of Frankland," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, III (September, 1944), 227. The comment was in a letter from Birdseye to Gerritt Smith.

[55]Minutes, January 7, February 12, 16, July 7, 11, 18, 25, August 3, 15, 1857, January 16, March 20, April 26, 1858. See also White, *Early History*, 41-42.

believed, to the fact that "the Legislature has chartered colleges throughout the State upon almost every application." Another cause was

> the general diversion of the public mind from the encouragement of education by the spirit of gain. The disposition of people, for ten years past, to speculate in trade, has tempted teachers and men of learning to withdraw from their literary pursuits, to follow money making; and the youth of the country have also been too eager to enter into active pursuits for the same purpose, and too impatient to labor assiduously through the period of time judiciously alloted [*sic*] for the acquisition of an education.

The disappointing response to the University's offer of free tuition to young men preparing to teach was another indication of this lack of interest.[56]

After a short period of suspension, the University was re-opened in September, 1858. President Carnes was a Baptist minister, an alumnus of the University of the class of 1842, and he had also served as principal of the Preparatory Department from 1843 to 1848. One of his first recommendations to the trustees was that a gymnasium should be constructed, a proposal which was soon adopted. In a later catalogue it was announced: "No physical exercises, which we have ever witnessed, are so well calculated to interest the young, prevent disputations and angry feelings, and at the same time develop the muscular system and render the body vigorous, healthy and active, as those practised in this department."[57] Near the close of Carnes' administration, provision was also made for the establishment of a military department, in consequence of an act of the general assembly of the state offering to provide arms and equipment for that purpose.[58]

The enlargement of the faculty and the construction of the gymnasium having involved an increase in expenditures, the University turned to the state for aid, hoping that some compensation might be obtained for the failures of the legislature to provide the whole of the land subsidy authorized by the Compact of 1806. President Carnes went before the legislature in person and secured the passage of a joint resolution requesting the judges of the state supreme court to investigate the facts and express their opinion "as to the equitable right of the University of East Tennessee and the University of Nashville to further compensation." The trustees appointed John

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[56]This report may be found in Tennessee *House Journal*, 1857-58, *Appendix*.

[57]*Ibid.*, 43, 45-46; Minutes, July 17, 1858, February 10, 1858; *Catalogue*, 1860-61, p. 19.

[58]Minutes, April 23, 1860. Earlier in the history of the institution, in 1844, a special "uniform" was temporarily adopted for student wear, and it is possible that some military drills were arranged; but no mention is made in the Minutes or in the *Catalogues* of any previous "military department," except that Prof. A. M. Lea was listed in the *Catalogue* of 1844 as a "Graduate of West Point."

H. Crozier and Thomas C. Lyon to present the claim before the judges, but the beginning of the Civil War forestalled any action.[59]

On May 28, 1860, without waiting for the action of the supreme court, President Carnes submitted his resignation, which was accepted by the trustees with extreme regret. The Rev. J. J. Ridley, D. D., of Clarksville, Tennessee, was elected as his successor, and he "brought his great ability and energy into play in perfecting the reforms inaugurated by Mr. Carnes, and in instituting others of his own."[60] Among the latter was a resolution of the board authorizing "gratuitous instruction" of candidates for the ministry of all denominations.[61] Under President Ridley's direction the University rapidly regained some of its prosperity, attaining an enrollment of 110 students during the year 1860-1861, although seventy-three of these were in the Preparatory Department, which had been expanded into a three years' course. This increased patronage necessitated an enlargement of the faculty and made possible the effecting of repairs to the buildings and the employment of a janitor to take care of the University grounds.[62]

The curriculum as outlined in the 1860-1861 catalogue made few concessions to the trend away from classicism. The collegiate course during the first two years included Latin, Greek, mathematics, and modern languages, with the addition in the sophomore year of botany and natural philosophy. The juniors studied Latin, Greek, mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry. The course for the seniors included in the winter session political economy, logic, mental philosophy, English analysis, astronomy, and mineralogy; and in the summer session "Evidences of Christianity," "Elements, Criticism," rhetoric, moral philosophy, geology, and anatomy and physiology. During the last two years regular practice in "Original Orations" was required.[63]

In his preface to this catalogue, President Ridley, after commenting

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[59]Minutes, February 11, 18, April 23, 1860. See also E. T. Sandford, *Blount College and the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1894), 63-64. Tuition fees were also increased to $20.00 and $25.00, respectively, in the Collegiate and Preparatory departments.

[60]White, *Early History,* 45; Minutes, May 28, June 14, 1860.

[61]*Ibid.,* July 21, 1860.

[62]*Catalogue,* 1860-61, p. 13; Minutes, June 26, September 4, 1860, February 5, May 4, 1861.

[63]The faculty, as listed in the 1860-61 catalogue, was composed of the Rev. J. J. Ridley, D. D., president and professor of "Ethics, Belles Lettres, Evidences of Christianity &c"; Milford C. Butler, A. M., professor of ancient languages and literature, and instructor in elocution; the Rev. Alexander A. Blair, A. M., professor of chemistry and natural history; the Rev. J. M. Leonard, A. M., professor of modern languages and principal of the Preparatory Department; and Robert N. Strong. A. M., professor of mathematics and supervisor of the gymnasium. A student, John M. Brooks, served as instructor in military tactics. Brooks served as a captain in the Confederate army and was later mayor of Knoxville and the founder of Middlesboro, Kentucky. C. V. Patton, "Sesqui Celebration to Mark New Epoch in U. T.'s History," Knoxville *Journal,* October 22, 1944.

upon the favorable location of the University "on a beautiful, truncated cone," and the healthful surroundings at Knoxville, continued:

> The religious and moral tone of the community is unsurpassed within the sphere of my acquaintance. There are in Knoxville churches of most of the religious denominations in the south-west; and it is a fact well worthy of consideration, that that bane of social and religious life, sectarian bitterness, if it exist here at all, is felt but to a limited extent. The University is wholly unsectarian. There are among its faculty, representatives of Episcopacy, Presbyterianism, (old and new school,) and Methodism; and parents have the option of placing their children under the religious culture of either one of the faculty, or of neither. Every student is by law required to attend religious worship in the chapel at opening and closing of University duties, each day, and to attend service in some place of public worship at least once every Sunday,—the place to be chosen at the pleasure of the parent.

Apparently, the sectarian controversies had abated, and public opposition to the University had died down, with the people's interest absorbed in more critical and nation-shaking events. The outbreak of the War between the States, however, had a seriously depressing effect upon the fortunes of East Tennessee University. In the same preface to the catalogue of 1860-1861, President Ridley announced that although during the first seven and a half months of his administration, "the number of students has more than doubled," the "unhappy state of the nation has drawn away several of our young men, who have within a few days enlisted in the Southern army."

Before closing this discussion of the pre-war period of the University's history, it will be necessary to present a few facts concerning the government of the institution and student life and activities. To a much greater extent than is true today, the regular administration of the affairs of the University was in the hands of the board of trustees rather than the faculty. The first two chapters of the *Laws of the College of East Tennessee,* adopted in 1838 and continued in effect throughout the pre-war history of East Tennessee University, described in much greater detail the duties of the trustees, the president, and other members of the faculty than the "laws" adopted in 1821 and 1829. Moreover, the Minutes of the Board of Trustees, as is indicated above, are replete with the details of administration. The treasurer of the board was also the treasurer of the University. He collected the fees from the students as well as conducting the other fiscal affairs of the institution. The selection, tenure, and compensation of the members of the faculty and all other employees was in fact as well as in form the function of the board of trustees. Usually correspondence with prospective teachers was handled by the secretary or a committee of the board, rather

than by the president. If presidential recommendations were either requested or considered, it was primarily a result of the personality of the individual rather than the existence of a precedent.

Even in such matters as academic instruction the board of trustees sometimes intervened. On March 6, 1847, the board required the faculty to submit a list of all books used in the University classes and ordered that no changes should be made without its consent. Under the date of July 8, 1847, this list was inscribed in the minutes of the board. This action was undoubtedly the result of the sectarian controversies then raging. A dispute appears to have developed over the texts used in the classical languages, since it was believed that some of the authors gave preference to the views of one denomination at the expense of the others.

The members of the board were expected to take their responsibilities seriously, as is indicated by the last section of the first chapter of the laws: "The Trustees deem it their duty to be present at all public examinations and exhibitions of the students; and to attend at the College on such other occasions as the interests of the institution may require." Although the discipline of the student body was largely in the hands of the faculty, all major punishments were inflicted by the board. It was probably because of the close relationship between the students and the trustees that the following rule was adopted:

> In order to the faithful and impartial government of the institution, the Trustees feel themselves obligated to avoid all *ex parte* proceedings in relation to the concerns of the College. They will listen, in their individual capacity, to no complaints of disaffected students against their instructors; and they will avoid all conversation and expression of private opinions concerning either the instructors or students, by which they may pledge or commit themselves on subjects liable to come before them in their official capacity; and when called upon to act officially, they will mutually regard the individual opinions, expressed in the Board, as strictly confidential.

The connecting link between the board of trustees and the faculty was the president, who usually presided at the meetings of the board. To him was committed "the general superintendence of the interests and reputation of the institution." In addition to being the chief instructor of the senior class, he had "the right to be present at the recitation of any class in the institution," and to "conduct the recitation himself, if he choose." He was specifically required "to see to it that prayers are offered in the chapel with the students every morning and evening."

The faculty was required under the rules to hold a meeting once a

week, under the direction of the president, at which written statements of "the progress, punctuality and conduct" of the members of each class were submitted and filed with the records. The method of instruction appears to have been very stereotyped, the students being asked to stand and recite their gleanings from the textbooks. Nevertheless, the rules declared it to be the "duty of the professors to deliver lectures on those subjects which require illustration." They were also expected occasionally to deliver public lectures in their own fields of knowledge for the benefit of the community as a whole. The professors also superintended the preparation and revising of the students' exhibitions at the annual commencements. No student was allowed to deliver any oration or declamation on those occasions which had not previously been approved by the president. One is led to wonder whether the "original orations" declaimed on commencement day were entirely original. Despite the emphasis on rote learning, there is evidence that some effort was made to develop the demonstration technique in the field of science, and possibly some attempts at experimentation.

Increased attention was also paid to the library. The laws adopted in 1838 provided for the appointment of a librarian, and in the catalogue for 1839 the Rev. W. J. Keith was listed as the first occupant of that position. The librarian was required to catalogue the "books and other articles belonging to the Library," and to enter immediately all "future additions." He was also to keep a book for the recording of all donations. The laws provided that

> Any person who shall present to the Library $100, or more, in cash or approved Classical and Scientific Books, Globes, Maps, Charts, or other appropriate articles to the value of $100, or more, shall, during life, have the privilege of borrowing books from the Library, provided he return them without injury within one month.

Similar borrowing privileges were granted to the trustees and members of the faculty. Students were allowed to take out only two books at a time and were required to return them within two weeks. Any person who should "detain" a book longer than the allowed time was assessed a fine of "12 1/2 cents per volume for every week's detention." For many years the library was entirely dependent upon donations for means with which to expand. On February 12, 1853, however, on the motion of James L. King, the board of trustees finally appropriated $100 a year for the purchase of books.

Much of the time of the faculty members, as is indicated below, was devoted to the maintenance of order among the students. Several of the professors were provided with houses on the campus, but all of them, apparently, were required by the laws and by the faculty rules to participate

in the periodic inspections of the students' rooms in the dormitories. According to the Records of the Faculty, October 18, 1844, these inspections were made twice daily, at 6:30 A.M. "to ascertain whether the rooms have been put in order," and at 10:00 P.M. to see that the lights had been extinguished. The rooms were also to be visited frequently during study hours.

In 1844 the professors narrowly escaped being required to wear a specially-designed uniform similar to that being worn by the students. This student uniform,[64] in response to a petition from the students, had been prescribed by the board of trustees on March 9 of that year, the same day on which Albert M. Lea was engaged as a professor. Lea, who was a graduate of West Point, seems to have attempted to institute a system of military discipline on the campus. Although no mention is made in the catalogues or the trustees' minutes of any military department, it is claimed by earlier historians of the University that Lea succeeded in organizing one or two companies for drill. Apparently, some student dissatisfaction developed, and even the wearing of the cadet uniform became distasteful. Consequently, Professor Lea moved in the faculty meeting on November 1, 1844: ". . .with a view to setting proper example before the students in the University, and thus lead them to the practice of economy in dress, the Faculty will appear in a uniform coat and pantaloons. . .to be Oxford grey *jeans;* the coat to be modeled after the one now worn by the students." The motion was adopted but the committee appointed was unable to secure a satisfactory quality of cloth. Instead of prohibiting sartorial variety on the part of the faculty, the board eventually decided to release the students from the obligation to wear the cadet uniform.

In view of the absence of most of the extra-curricular activities of the present-day college student, the interest taken in the work of the literary societies filled this gap to a considerable extent. These societies, the Chi Delta and the Philomathesian, engaged in vigorous, yet friendly rivalry. They held long meetings every Saturday afternoon or evening or both, at which original orations were delivered, selected subjects debated, and the members trained in parliamentary procedure and in the practice of the flowery oratory which many of them later displayed in the courtrooms, in the pulpit, or on the political stump. The record books of these societies are in the University Library, and they give evidence of the seriousness with which the officers and members viewed their responsibilities. The Chi Delta Record for the period from 1850 to 1861 indicates, of course, that there were several "stock subjects" for debate which appear repeatedly, including: the justification of the execution of Mary, Queen of Scots, of the assassina-

[64]In the *Catalogue* of 1844 this uniform was described as follows: "It consists of Kentucky or Tennessee jeans, of a light mixed color, or of cloth known by the name of 'Cadet Mixed.' The suit consists of coat, pantaloons and vest, is made and trimmed after a particular pattern."

tion of Julius Caesar, and of the exile of Napoleon Bonaparte; the relative merits or evils of papal and regal power, republican and monarchical forms of government, political parties, truth, ambition, and the influence of women. Nevertheless, considerable attention was given to matters of current interest, such as: whether the Compromise of 1850 should be accepted, foreign immigration prohibited, Catholics elected to office, Cuba or Mexico be annexed, and "Should the South secede if a Black Republican is elected President?"[65]

These societies built up extensive libraries of their own, which were regularly mentioned in the University catalogues as an important part of the literary resources of the institution. In addition to receiving frequent gifts of books from former members, the societies acquired the financial means for purchase through initiation fees and fines. The application of a fine of ten or fifteen cents was the usual penalty for absence or such minor offenses as interrupting a speaker, "except to correct a mistake," and walking across the room while someone was speaking; but the use of profanity brought down a fine of from twenty-five cents to two dollars.

Another important student activity was the publication by the senior class during the period from 1841 to 1843 of *The University Magazine.* This periodical, published monthly during the time the University was in session, was "entirely devoted to the good cause of education and morality." The editors announced that they would "endeavor to point out the good effects upon society, and the absolute necessity, of a general diffusion of Knowledge and correct moral principles. . . ."[66] Another purpose, as explained by the editors of the second volume in their valedictory at the close of the session, was "our own improvement in composition." As to the character of their productions, they explained:

> In it, you have had our candid thoughts and serious reflections, our whimsical fancies and vague conjectures, our mid-day dreams and our mid-night reveries, our whims, our freaks, and our follies. Here we have eulogized and criticized, philosophized and moralized, rhapsodized and poetized, and now we leave it all.[67]

Although a major portion of the material was contributed by members of the senior class, a considerable part came from other students, members of the faculty, and friends of the University. Among the most regular of the faculty contributors was the future congressman and political leader, Horace Maynard, teacher of ancient and modern languages in 1841-1842

[65]On the day the last-mentioned subject was scheduled to be debated the society decided, as a precautionary measure, to substitute another topic in view of the heat engendered by the campaign of 1860.

[66]*The University Magazine,* I (November, 1841), 1.

[67]*Ibid.,* II (July, 1843), 318.

and professor of mathematics, 1842-1843. An alumnus and later trustee and president who contributed, among other things, a brief, though accurate history of the University, was Thomas W. Humes.[68] As an example of a student publication of those early days, the magazine appears from a survey of its contents to have maintained during its short period of existence a high standard of literary excellence. It suspended publication with the end of the second volume, in July, 1843, probably because of the lack of financial support. An effort was made to revive the magazine in 1849,[69] but apparently without success.

The necessity for such activities as literary and debating societies and the publication of a magazine was increased by the restricted mode of life characteristic of the colleges and universities of that period of our history. As expressed in the "Introduction" to the first volume of the *University Magazine*:

> One of our objects in publishing this work is, to devise some means by which the Students of the University, who generally remain within the contracted limits of the College until the completion of their long course of study, may have a communication with the world; to open a wide field for improvement, and offer them additional inducement to spend their leisure moments profitably. Indolence is said to be the parent of many vices, and hence it is a great desideratum, that we should employ all our time in some honorable and beneficial pursuits.

To restrain the abundant energy and mischievous tendencies even of those boys and young men of literary inclinations, and more especially to control the conduct of those less interested in scholarly attainment, stringent rules were enforced. Every student was required orally and by signature to acquiesce in these rules prior to admission, and was required, under penalty, to have in his possession at all times a copy of the regulations. A few excerpts from the "Laws" of East Tennessee University[70] will illustrate the

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[68] *Ibid.*, II (April, 1843), 195-98. This sketch contains the most accurate list of early graduates the writer has seen. The identification of the authors of some of the contributions to the magazine is made possible by penciled notations on the copy of Volume II in the Tennessee Room (5) of the University Library by one of its editors (who apparently donated this copy to the library), Joseph H. Martin, valedictorian of the class of 1843. Bound with this volume is the commencement program of August, 1843.

[69] A prospectus was printed in the *Catalogue* for 1848-49, p. 16.

[70] A comparison of the *Laws of the College of East Tennessee, Enacted by the Board, April* 1838 with excerpts from the "Laws" printed in the *Catalogue* of 1853-54 reveals that they remained practically unchanged throughout the pre-war period of the University. A new edition, considerably modified and condensed, was adopted on January 26, 1860. An 1873 printing of this edition is available, but it appears to include some revisions made after 1860. *Laws of East Tennessee University, Located at Knoxville, Enacted by the Board of Trustees, January 26th*, 1860 (Knoxville, 1873).

"parental care" exercised by the administration over the student body, during every hour of the day and night:

> The stated hours for College exercises shall be in the summer session, from half past 8 o'clock, A.M., until 12, and from 2, P.M., until 5, with the exception of Saturday, which shall be allowed to the student for necessary avocations and recreation. There shall, likewise, be a weekly recitation from the Bible on the Sabbath. . . unless superceded by other religious exercises. After morning prayers, the Faculty may grant such liberties of retirement for study, until the remaining recitations and evening prayers, as they judge expedient. The hours of required study, besides those already specified, shall be from sun-rise until breakfast, and from 7 P.M., until retirement for rest; but in the winter session, the exercises shall commence at 9 A.M., and close at 4 1/2 P.M.; during which time the students shall not allow themselves to be seen abroad, unless urged by some necessity of which they shall be ready to give an account to any officer or Trustee of the College, who may observe them; but they shall diligently apply themselves to study in their proper places of retirement.[71]

Another incentive to close application to the work was the rule that

> At the close of every session, the students of each class shall be subject to a public examination in all the branches to which they shall have attended during that session. And if any student whose examination is not approved, being deficient in any College exercise, may be required to make amends for his deficiency, by extraordinary application and recitation, at a time appointed by his instructors.

In the Records of the Faculty, 1840-1857, may be found frequent references to the results of these examinations and to specific requirements to be fulfilled during the vacation period in order to be eligible to advance to the next class. Among these assigned tasks were such requirements as "pass an examination on Day's Mathematics," "write and commit a speech," and in the case of a preparatory school student, study the history of the United States before entering the freshman class. The members of the senior class were subjected to an even more rigorous public examination "for the purpose of exhibiting their accuracy and proficiency; and if found versed in

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[71]In the manuscript Records of the Faculty under the date October 18, 1844, provision was made for the ringing of the bells as follows: 6:00 A.M. - "Students to rise"; 7:30 - "Breakfast"; 8:30 - "first Bell for Prayers"; 8:45 - "tolling of bell for prayers, 3 minutes"; 9, 10, and 11:00 - "Recitations"; 12:00 - "Dinner"; 2, 3, and 4:00 P.M. - "Recitations"; 4:30 - "Toll for Prayers 3m."; 7:00 - "for study hours to begin"; 9:30 - "for study hours to end and warning to retire"; 10:00 - "for retiring - all lights to be extinguished."

them, shall be recommended by the Faculty to the Trustees. . .as approved candidates for the Bachelor's degree."[72]

The chapter on "Punishments" indicates that they were of two classes: minor punishments, inflicted by the faculty, and major punishments, inflicted "in all cases, by the Board of Trustees." They were designed to make the administration "as nearly parental as the nature of the establishment will admit." In the minor punishments were included "confession, private admonition or reprehension. . .by an officer of the Institution; admonition before the Faculty of the College; public admonition in the presence of the students; putting an offender in a state of probation and private dismission." The major punishments were "public dismission, rustication, and expulsion. In cases of rustication, the Student shall leave College for a time, not less than two, nor more than six months."

The chapter of the laws dealing with "Religious Duty, Moral Conduct, and Misdemeanor" included the following:

> 1. The students are to consider themselves, and each other as young gentlemen, associated for the purpose of mutual improvement. . . .
>
> 4. The students shall be particularly careful, when the sacred Scriptures are read, and prayers offered in the College, to yield an orderly and serious attention to these duties, as of their own personal concern. . . .
>
> 9. Students absenting themselves after night from their rooms, without leave, shall be liable to dismission or expulsion. . . .
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> 11. If any student shall possess or exhibit any indecent picture, or purchase, introduce, or read in college any obscene books, or be guilty of lying, profaneness, intemperance, playing at cards, or any other unlawful games, or at any game for a wager, or of other gross immoralities or impieties, he shall be punished according to the heinousness of the offense, by admonition, suspension or expulsion. . . .
>
> 14. No student shall bring or cause to be brought into College, any distilled or fermented liquors; nor any fire-arm or ammunition of any kind; nor a sword, dirk, sword-cane, or any deadly weapon whatever, upon penality of any minor punishment. . . .
>
> 18. No throwing of stones, chips, snow-balls, &c; no athletic sports or plays, or noise of any kind shall be permitted in any part of the College building, in or near the College yard or dormitory buildings. . . .
>
> 20. Every student shall be answerable for his moral conduct,

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[72]These examinations were really public and were attended usually not only by the faculty, but also by parents or guardians, members of the board of trustees, and representatives of the press. *Knoxville Register,* February 7, 1856.

during the several vacations, in the same manner as in term time
. . . .

The rigor of the enforcement of these rules varied, of course, during the different administrations. President Ridley in the catalogue for 1860-1861 stated that it had been his "constant, steady aim" to govern "by the law of kindness and affection." He attempted to secure obedience "by means addressed to the nobler sentiments and motives of human conduct;. . .personal chastisement has been inflicted in no instance; and nevertheless the Preparatory Department containing many small boys, has preserved as good order as is to be found in any high-school in the south-west."

The Records of the Faculty reveal, however, that during the preceding years some of the above rules were not always observed. Apparently, much of the time of the faculty meetings was devoted to the trial of students charged with violating the laws of the University and to the determination of the punishments to be applied. The irrepressible youngsters, wearied by the restraints surrounding them, frequently revolted against these bonds and broke out in some sort of disorder. The most frequent type was the ordinary schoolyard fight, and occasionally one of the participants would pull out a knife, which he had previously kept carefully hidden from the authorities. Even guns, it also appears, were possessed by some of the students in violation of the rules. On one occasion a citizen of Knoxville complained that his dogs had been killed. The students on trial denied the charge, but admitted that they had been shooting ducks along the creek during the night in question.[73]

Drinking, as well as "pistol packing," on the part of the students came in for frequent faculty consideration. On January 13, 1847, it was ascertained that several students had left the hill after 10:00 P.M. "without permission for the purpose of amusement,. . .being under the influence of ardent spirits." Others had gone after them, allegedly for the purpose of inducing them to return, but one of these, it was charged, had "joined in" the fun. Leaving the University grounds without permission was one of the most frequent violations. Occasionally this was done in a defiant spirit, as when Professor Currey, on May 23, 1849, reported that a certain student had "left the Hill in contempt of authority to go fishing during study hours."[74]

There is no evidence, however, of any organized revolts against authority, or of any instances of warfare between the students and the citizens of

[73]Records of the Faculty, April 5, 1841.

[74]The Records of the Faculty contain some references to instances of immorality more serious than gambling and drinking. On July 28, 1847, one student was recommended for expulsion for "harboring a profligate woman in his room during a portion of the night." At the same meeting it was ordered that the president reprimand several students who "had been indecently exposing their persons bathing at night in the Spring."

the town such as occurred at some other institutions of higher learning, including Yale University, during this period of American history. The administration was always very careful in selecting the students to be admitted, and anyone dismissed for any dishonorable causes found it difficult, if not impossible, to gain admission to any other college. Consequently, suspension was a much more customary type of punishment than expulsion. Even sons of trustees or future trustees were not immune from temporary enforced absence from the University. For example, on June 25, 1844, C. M. McGhee and C. G. McClung were suspended for involvement in a "disturbance." Their offense, it appears, was a refusal to "tattle" on their associates. The withdrawal of scions of prominent families was also requested, occasionally, for scholastic rather than disciplinary reasons. On May 31, 1844, the "father of Mr. Campbell" was requested to take him out of the University because he was "deriving no benefit." Two months later a similar request was made to the father of William L. Swan, because he was making "little progress in his studies." One of the major causes of student dissatisfaction with the disciplinary policy of the institution and of trouble among the students was the consistent effort to enforce the requirement that students testify against one another. During the decade of the 1850's popular opposition to this administration policy became increasingly evident in the trials of students before the faculty.

Although the laws of East Tennessee University were undoubtedly very stringent, and the extensive extra-curricular activities of the present University were largely absent, the students were by no means devoid of opportunities for relaxation and amusement. As indicated above, the literary societies filled the gap to a considerable extent. Their weekly meetings were well attended and were scenes of spirited activity. Eventually, the rule requiring lights to be extinguished by 10:00 P.M. was waived on meeting nights for those certified by the officers of the society as having been present. Their anniversary meetings were especially elaborate occasions. Ladies were invited to these events, and as opportunities for feminine companionship were definitely limited, plans were carefully laid well in advance. These anniversaries were by no means the only opportunities the University students had to associate with young ladies, however, even though the institution had not revived the co-educational policy of Blount College. The East Tennessee Female Institute and the Knoxville Female Seminary were also located in Knoxville, and it is certain that a considerable number of social contacts were possible between the students at these schools and those at the University. Nevertheless, when the news arrived of the firing on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, and of the calls for volunteers by Presidents Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, many of the boys at the University looked forward eagerly to the more exciting life on the battlefield as a relief from the tedium of the college halls.

THE EAST TENNESSEE REPUBLICAN PARTY, 1900-1914

By Verton M. Queener

Since the Civil War East Tennessee has held to the old-line Republican party with as much tenacity as any other section of like size in the United States. From the close of the Civil War and Reconstruction to 1900, the East Tennessee Republicans, a constant threat to the Democratic one-party control of the state, were able to overthrow this control for only two years, 1881-1883. The fifteen years from 1900 to 1914 were in some respects unique, for the governorship was twice placed in the hands of an East Tennessean Republican but the state-wide party strength was unchanged. General Billy Butram in 1906 described Scott County, which is slightly more Republican than most East Tennessee counties, by saying that there were only about 150 Democrats in the county; there were several districts where a "Democrat is as much of a curiosity as a circus." He boasted that there were eight or nine districts without a Democrat.[1] Feelings of Republicans of that section have changed but little from 1906 to the present, for one educated present-day East Tennessee Republican called the situation described by Butram a "political Heaven."

Knox County has been the center of this staunch Republicanism. In 1900 its county seat, Knoxville, located in Tennessee's second congressional district between the Great Smoky Mountains on the east and the Cumberlands on the west, was a city of some 33,000 population. It was situated on the banks of the Tennessee River midway between the two mountain chains where the Appalachian Valley reaches its greatest width. The city was and still is the social, trading, and political capital of East Tennessee. There were of course other smaller cities of considerable importance, but the daily papers which spoke for East Tennessee Republicanism down through the decades were Knoxville papers. The outstanding paper through these years was properly a direct descendant of the Brownlow *Whig and Rebel Ventilator,* made famous by the politically-minded Methodist parson in the days immediately before and after the Civil War. It is this paper, the Knoxville *Journal and Tribune,* which has been examined, issue by issue, during election years in order to ferret out the political issues, feelings, actions, successes, and failures of the

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[1]Knoxville *Journal and Tribune,* May 11, 1906. Hereafter referred to as the *Journal,* which has been the common name of the paper all along. In the 1880's the *Journal* bought a Knoxville Democratic paper called the *Tribune* and added that name to the masthead, but people continued to call the paper the *Journal* as if somewhat ashamed to admit that it had absorbed a Democratic paper.

East Tennessee Republicans as they tried hopefully year after year to make themselves felt as a political power in the state and in the nation.

Near the end of the period under consideration, certain circumstances placed the Republicans of East Tennessee in control of the governorship; other circumstances placed the Democratic party in power in the national government at about the same time. The circumstances, though similar, were not the same and not directly related. Throughout the period, as before and since, the party held practically all local East Tennessee political positions, except in certain traditional Democratic "islands." Year after year East Tennesseans elected two congressmen who served as ambassadors from the unique and isolated existence of East Tennessee Republicanism to Washington, to which they looked as the source of political wisdom, virtue, and rewards.[2]

The workings of this local and isolated one-party system can be seen by a study of its position at the turn of the century: its stand on state issues, its stand on national issue, its embarrassment by the racial question and by factions within the party, and its strength at the close of the period.

In the presidential election of 1900, William McKinley polled 121,194 out of a total of 265,945 votes in Tennessee. This placed the Republican percentage in the state at 45.6 per cent of the total vote cast. But in East Tennessee the Republicans cast 60,058 votes for McKinley while the Democrats in the same section were able to count only 34,793 for William J. Bryan. Here the Republican vote was 63.4 per cent of the total polled. The Republicans in this eastern third of the state cast half of the total Republican vote in the entire state. The votes in the gubernatorial election in 1900 were practically the same as in the presidential election. The Republican candidate was John E. McCall, an industrialist of Memphis, unknown in East Tennessee, but steadfast party men of the section gave him a higher vote by a fraction of a per cent than they gave the popular presidential candidate. In the gubernatorial election of 1902, the total vote for governor was 157,956 ballots, of which the Republicans cast 59,002 or 34 per cent. Of the total Republican votes, East Tennesseans polled 33,452 ballots or 56.7 per cent. These elections, although the first two of this century, are typical. The percentages varied but little for any election during the decade and a half under consideration. Republicans were in a position to poll from 35 to 49 per cent of the total state vote and the East Tennessee Republicans were able to count from 35 to 60 per cent of the total Republican votes of the state.[3]

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[2]W. P. Brownlow to John C. Houk, n. d., in Houk Manuscripts (Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville). The Houk Manuscripts consist of the correspondence of L. C. Houk and his son John C. from about 1865 to 1920. See also Nashville *Banner*, September 5, 1900; Knoxville *Journal*, January 17, 1902.

[3]Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office, Nashville, Tennessee).

The hopes, weaknesses, and strength of this militant minority depended largely on the leaders. They were practically all East Tennesseans even though a man from one of the other two sections might be nominated as a candidate for governor. Leaders from the first congressional district were such men as Walter P. Brownlow, Alfred A. Taylor, and Benjamin W. Hooper. Brownlow was the head of the Republican party for several years prior to 1906. A distant relative of the famous "Parson" Brownlow, he was a member of Congress when he secured for his district a soldier's home, located at Johnson City, Tennessee.[4] Taylor was the brother of Robert Love ("Bob") Taylor and was well known because of the "War of the Roses" in which the two brothers were opposing candidates for governor in 1886. He opposed Brownlow for congressman from the first district in 1906 but was defeated.[5] Benjamin W. Hooper, a captain of the Spanish-American War, was a native of Cocke County. An honest and popular campaigner, he was a moderate in politics who served as a member of the lower house of the state legislature, assistant United States district attorney, and governor for two terms.[6]

The second district, with the largest city and a daily Republican newspaper, was in a position to be the most influential of the three districts in East Tennessee, but this pre-eminence was often jeopardized by the multiplicity of voices. Outstanding among its leaders were Henry R. Gibson, Captain William R. Rule, Richard W. Austin, Nathan W. Hale, and John C. Houk. Gibson, now aged but wielding considerable influence, represented the district in Congress from 1895 to 1905. He was called a colonel and maintained that he had served on Gen. Joseph Hooker's staff, but he had lost his commission papers and the War Department, it seems, had no record of him as a soldier.[7] Rule was an elderly and highly respected newspaperman, who had started his journalistic career in the Civil War days. For a number of years he had been ambitious to hold office. By 1900 or shortly thereafter this desire had subsided but through his newspaper—the *Journal and Tribune*—he was involved in every political campaign and squabble. His paper, while not so rabidly partisan as Brownlow's *Whig* had been, was a worthy descendant of its predecessor. Austin was a local politician noted for his ability to trade with the opposition when it seemed advantageous, and he was one of the few men who could

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[4]Knoxville *Journal*, April 9, 1906. Brownlow served in Congress from 1899 until his death in 1910.

[5]Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor and the Agrarian Revolt in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 57-59. Taylor had previously been a congressman from 1889 to 1895. He was finally elected governor in 1920.

[6]Nashville *Banner*, September 14, 1910.

[7]George W. Ford, Knoxville, Tennessee, who was for a time secretary to Henry R. Gibson, claims that he found the commission certificate shortly after Gibson's election to Congress, but that it was again misplaced. Statement to the East Tennessee Historical Society. May, 1942.

usually gain his ends by threatening to split the party in the second district. He defeated Nathan W. Hale in the congressional race in 1908, and continued to represent the district until 1919. Hale had served as congressman from 1905 to 1909. He was also elected to replace Brownlow as national committeeman in 1906. He won considerable notoriety as a manufacturer of a patent and reputedly potent medicine which, it was said, "would make men drunk," a medicine which could be substituted for liquor as prohibition dried up localities in East Tennessee.[8] Houk was a son of L. C. Houk who at one time bossed Tennessee Republicans without qualms or effective opposition. Upon the death of his father in 1891, John C. had succeeded him as congressman from the second district for two terms and had then served in the state senate, 1897-1899. He had had his troubles with H. Clay Evans, congressman from the third district, and with Brownlow of the first over patronage for the state. In the campaign of 1912, he joined the Progressives and was called a deserter of his party.[9] Nevertheless, he was later to reestablish his position and return to the state senate in 1917.

Leaders from the third district were not so numerous as in the second, but two are worthy of attention, H. Clay Evans, already mentioned, and Newell R. Sanders. Evans, interested in local politics, had been mayor of Chattanooga and later a representative in Congress, 1889-1891, assistant postmaster general, commissioner of pensions, and consul general in London. He had the distinction of having won the race for governor in 1894, but he was counted out by a legislative committee. A popular speaker, he was an early advocate of prohibition.[10] Sanders was state chairman of the Republican party for several years and chairman of the "fighting convention" of 1908. Upon the death of U. S. Senator Bob Taylor, Governor Hooper appointed Sanders to the United States Senate. He was a man of wealth with property in Tennessee and Indiana where he was known as a benefactor in many ways.[11]

In the election of 1900, as in every election, the leaders of the party hoped to bring Tennessee into the Republican column. Their hopes were based in part on a feeling that Tennessee would experience "a growing industrial development . . . . [and] prosperity under McKinley" and succeeding Republican presidents, on the expectation of obtaining "fair play" in state and local elections, and on the hope for Democratic accretions to their standard because of the Republican imperialistic policy.[12] There was

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[8]Knoxville *Journal*, November 2, 1906.
[9]*Ibid.*, September 9, 1912; Claude J. Archer, The Life of John Chiles Houk (Unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1941).
[10]Knoxville *Journal*, July 14, 1906; Nashville *Banner*, October 15, 1906.
[11]Kenneth R. McKellar, *Tennessee Senators* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1943), 531-47.
[12]Knoxville *Journal*, July 12, 1900.

some historical background which served as a basis for Republican hopes that Tennessee would vote Republican. Captain Rule argued that

> Tennessee ought to be republican. It was a Whig state before the war . . . . The electoral vote . . . was cast in 1836 for Hugh Lawson White, in 1840 for Harrison, for Clay in 1844, against James K. Polk, a Tennessean, and for Zachary Taylor in 1848, for Winfield Scott in 1852, for James Buchanan in 1856 and for John Bell in 1860.[13]

In calling on history for support, the paper forgot that in June, 1861, when all Tennesseans were called upon to make a choice, a fairly large majority decided to cast their lot with the South, and that their decision had been strengthened later as they endured about four years of distasteful rule by a minority calling themselves the Republican party.

The editor of the *Journal and Tribune* often came back to the subject of a strong Republican party in the state. He built up the hopes of other Republicans by such statements as the following:

> There are one hundred thousand white men in the state of Tennessee who would rejoice to have the Republican party triumphant in the state. Not one in ten of them hold any office or ever expect to, and many of them are frequently disgusted with the trifling contentions brought about by . . . [the leaders].

"If the party is ever strengthened in the South," continued the paper, "It must be by commanding the respect of the best people of the section . . . ."[14] The hope for a strong party made up of the "best people" was a thinly veiled complaint about the general type of leader and the membership of colored voters which handicapped the party in a southern state. A slightly different approach to a strong party was made by the paper in 1906 when William H. Taft, then secretary of war in Theodore Roosevelt's cabinet, made a speech in North Carolina to Republicans of that state. Taft spoke on "a strong Republican party in the South" which the paper took as a text and said, "The first and best step for building up the Republican party in the south is to deal with the state and local issues, standing for righting local wrongs and assuming a high plane of political morals." The editor pointed to an obvious fact: "Southern republicans

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[13]*Ibid.*, July 13, 1900.

[14]*Ibid.*, August 25, 1902. On election day in 1902 the *Banner* said: "Chairman Borches will probably have the Republican headquarters which he has been carrying around in his vest pocket, set in a scarfpin to wear as a memento to his still hunt."

have little or nothing to do with shaping the national issues of . . . [their] party. Their mission is to the South and for the South they should stand with pride and fidelity."[15]

There were some definite reasons why the party remained a minority party. Some of the weaknesses were the result of a deliberate design of the Democrats and others were inherent. The party was kept down "partly by unjust and unfair laws . . . ."[16] Tennessee laws, whether they were discriminatory or not, were passed by a legislature controlled by Democrats and were signed by Democratic governors. Some of the election and voting qualification laws could be used to discriminate against Republican voters. The Nashville *Banner* furnished an accurate and just description of the Democratic party and their laws when it said,

> The democrats of the state have no fears that under the present election laws, the republicans can turn them down, hence they are playing small politics, partitioning out the honors among favorites, intriguing, wrangling, brawling and fighting over the question of a division of the spoils.[17]

Among the acts which helped the Democrats to perpetuate themselves in power year after year, the now notorious poll tax law was of first importance. In Tennessee the payment of a poll tax was required by the constitution of 1870 as a prerequisite for voting. By that constitution (which in most respects is an excellent one) the poll tax clause and the laws enacted thereunder were designed to eliminate the Negro vote as extensively as possible. This meant eliminating far more Republican votes than Democratic. The requirement has in reality served to eliminate thousands of voters of both parties, especially among the poor, non-property owning elements of the state.

A second law which worked against the Republicans was one by which the majority party seemed to have almost exclusive control over the balloting in any election. This law provided the basis for Republican conviction that every election they lost in any part of East Tennessee was due to fraud. Examples of such claims appeared in the *Journal*: the "Republican member of the election commission was seriously ill and other names submitted by the county chairman were not even considered"; the election commission appointed "old and infirm men—men who could not read or

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[15]Knoxville *Journal*, July 12, 1906.

[16]*Ibid.*, July 13, 1900.

[17]Nashville *Banner*, quoted in *ibid.*, January 17, 1902.

write, men who were neither reliable as republicans nor [as] men."[18] These charges referred to the elections in Knox County and served along with charges of fraud as explanations for Republican defeats. There was occasionally some evidence of fraud but not as much as was charged. The county election of 1902 was thrown into court on the charge of fraud; and in a bond election in July, 1904, the ballots were counted fraudulently, according to the *Journal*. This charge seems to have had some proof. The court case came to nothing, but the Republicans made the most of it in newspaper articles and stump speeches.[19]

A third law by which the majority discriminated against the minority was the measure apportioning representation in the state legislature. The Republicans were able to point to certain glaring inequalities in this law; for example, the fourth and sixth legislative districts with voting populations of 7,038 and 9,190, respectively, each had a representative in the legislature; whereas in the Democratic sections of the state single counties such as Jackson or White with voting populations of only 3,178 and 3,118, respectively, each had a representative in the legislature.[20] This complaint was a legitimate one. The Nashville *Banner* wrote: "The discrimination must have been made for partisan reasons. This is a plausible view, and if it be not the correct view an explanation based on other grounds would be interesting."[21] The several handicaps which faced the East Tennessee Republicans at the beginning of the century were realities, not theories. The Democrats might well be ashamed of the role their party played, especially when it discriminated against individuals.

As the first decade of the century moved along, some inherent weaknesses of East Tennessee Republicanism helped to keep the party from becoming a majority. The most evident weakness and one that was passed on from the previous century was pointed out by the Nashville *Banner* when it commented:

> The Republican Party has been done a gross injustice by its leaders who instead of striving to identify the organization closely and wholesomely with the state's interests have devoted themselves mainly and almost exclusively to . . . Washington in order to obtain Federal patronage or influence in its distribution.[22]

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[18]*Ibid.*, April 4, 1902. These charges and others were questioned by such papers as the Chattanooga *Times*, which said in its issue of April 2, 1902, "The Republicans of Knox County—a majority of the people must be a tame lot to stand by and watch a minority cheat them out of one election after another."

[19]Knoxville *Journal*, August 4, 1904; Nashville *American*, quoted in *ibid.*, November 9, 1904.

[20]*Ibid.*, October 7, 1904; July 1, 1910.

[21]Nashville *Banner*, September 29, 1904.

[22]*Ibid.*, September 5, 1900.

Southern Republicans when honest with themselves recognized the truth of such a statement, for as late as 1906 the *Journal* admitted, "it is too painfully evident that in the south the [Republican] party exists only for federal patronage and fights only among themselves about its control."[23] The *Banner* pointed out that the Republicans were in the "habit of hanging their political hopes and interest on the cupboard door in Washington to the positive neglect of state affairs. [They are like] penniless children gazing into confectionary windows at the tempting unattainables." The *Journal* admitted that the "picture is not one to be proud of but [it] is so close to the truth that one is bound to admit a resemblance."[24]

John C. Houk, former congressman from the second district, was even more caustic than the *Banner* about his party and hinted at weaknesses other than the ever-present hope of patronage when he wrote:

> I told Hon. H. Clay Evans that I intended to give you my idea of politics in the State but I have hesitated in doing so because my fifteen or twenty years experience in Washington makes me know that the average complaint from a Southern Republican is usually classed . . . at Washington as a thing dirty. We have . . . a great body of intelligent, brave and consistent republicans, . . . yet we have no great republican party as an organization. We have been bossed, brow beaten and hacked by false leader-ship until a reference to the republican organization in Tennessee excites among our own people only a laugh of ridicule.

Houk was overly pessimistic but spoke some truth when he continued: "Some two or three persons who are in the position of leaders are secret allies of the democratic machine and are gradually destroying our local organizations in this East Tennessee strong-hold of republicanism . . . ." The Republicans at Washington did not grasp the situation for, according to Houk, through "a mis-understanding . . . of the true conditions existing in Tennessee the Federal patronage in many instances is used to destroy instead of to build up the republican party."[25] On another occasion Houk wrote about changes in the postal service in the South and approved a clipping which said that the changes "must result in the breaking up of the Republican machine in that section, which will be a godsend . . . for the existing machine frankly works on the principle that the business of its leaders and members is to hold office and to sell out at national con-

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[23]Knoxville *Journal*, July 12, 1906.

[24]Editorial in Nashville *Banner*, quoted in *ibid.*, January 17, 1902. The *Journal* also commented on the *Banner* editorial.

[25]John C. Houk to George B. Cortelyou, January 2, 1905, in Houk Manuscripts.

ventions . . . ."[26]

The party remained a minority but there were a few signs of vigorous strength and some growth. The leaders hoped and worked to extinguish the charges that their party consisted mainly of Negro voters. They were on strong ground when urging that Republicans be treated in the South as Republicans of other sections were treated, "fairly and justly." They were in line with public sentiment in advocating a change in the election laws. They opposed the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting and they were lining up more readily than the Democrats with the reform movements, especially with the movement for state-wide prohibition. This last reform, when it became the dominant issue in the state, brought many voters into the Republican column.

The party was accused of being uninterested in state issues or in the welfare of Tennessee. Whatever substance there was to this accusation should become apparent from an examination of the position taken by the Republicans on state political issues. Tennesseans, those living east of the Cumberlands especially, in the past had longed for more industrialization, internal improvements, adequate measures for the care of Confederate veterans, better education, and state-wide prohibition. They had taken the lead for industrial expansion, not excluding that which came into the state to exploit human and natural resources. As on former similar occasions, the East Tennessee citizenry was happy when it first heard that the Louisville and Nashville Railroad was to be expanded. The Republican paper fairly screamed, "Knoxville is to have two trunk lines, and Knoxville is to prosper as she has never done before on the manna which it is expected the L. and N. will be the means of sending to the commercial and manufacturing interests of the city."[27] This was a typical reaction of the party's spokesman.

When some northern capitalists under the misleading name, the "Smoky Mountain Timber and Improvement Company," moved in on one of the great resources of East Tennessee, the *Journal* became ecstatic; this company "will spend many thousands of dollars in developing" the "timber resources" of the "Citico Creek" region. The survey called for a twenty-four mile railroad from Maryville into a great timbered region of the Unaka Mountains immediately south of the Little Tennessee River. Paraphrasing loses the enthusiasm which was shown by the press in landing

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[26]Clipping from *Harper's Weekly*, December 28, 1901, in *ibid.* The *Journal* emphasized the same idea in commenting on the solid South: "Would that there were a division in parties in the South that would make it necessary for both parties to bring out their best men." Knoxville *Journal*, November 11, 1904.

[27]*Ibid.*, April 4, 1902. The road was chartered in the state as the "Knoxville, Lafollette, and Jellico Railroad" but was designed as a link in an L. and N. connection between Louisville and Atlanta.

the enterprise; therefore, the account is quoted:

> The preliminary line of the survey of the railroad to be built by the Smoky Mountain Timber and Improvement Company has been completed from Maryville to the Mountains in Monroe County along Citico Creek. . . .
>
> O. L. Nichols, of Coudersport Pennsylvania who is in charge of the surveying party . . . stated that the road will be twenty-four miles in length through the finest timber lands he has ever seen, barring none. Pine, Ash, Poplar and Hemlock abound and along Slick Rock Creek, cherry and ash are found in great plenty. Some of the poplar trees, so Mr. Nichols states are more than eight feet in diameter, and the forests afford uniformly good timber throughout its entire length and breadth . . . speaking with respect to the 43,000 acres of land owned or controlled by the company.
>
> The Smoky Mountain Timber and Improvement Company has all money needed back of the enterprise . . . . Some of the wealthiest men in New York and Pennsylvania being interested.
>
> All the bark will be used for tanning purposes, the pulp for making wood alcohol, while the waste wood and scrap timber will be sent to New York to keep the Gothamites warm. The company proposes to open up that section of the state and will begin operations at once. Thousands of dollars will be spent and employment given many men.[28]

It never occurred to the writer of the article or the editor of the paper that a mighty forest covering thousands of acres would be stripped bare and the mountains denuded of trees which could not be replaced in five hundred years. Nor did the paper realize that Tennesseans, within a few years, would be robbed of millions of dollars' worth of timber for the paltry sum of $1.25 per day for a few hundred workers. Republicans were no more responsible or far-seeing than the men of other parties. To all the forest seemed inexhaustible.

East Tennesseans for decades desired internal improvements on their great natural highways—the rivers. They were always ready to urge the need for improving the Tennessee River and all tributaries of any size. Especially were these improvements needed in the vicinity of Knoxville. Few sessions of Congress went by without these needs being stressed by local Republicans and their papers. From time to time a little money would be appropriated and with it the local "river politicians" would improve the river. Many examples of what was called improving the Tennessee River

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[28] *Ibid.*, September 4, 1902.

might be mentioned, but one will suffice. In 1908 the *Journal* urged in several editorials the improvement "of waterways, especially the Tennessee River." The change advocated was the "removal of the shoals" in the river, a problem that was never solved until the Tennessee Valley Authority developed the whole basin.[29]

The desire for river improvement sometimes seemed an open bid for a little federal money. Such was the case in 1908 when some East Tennessee Republicans promoted improvement of the Clinch, a small tributary of the Tennessee below Knoxville. After admitting that the development of the Clinch might "cost a million dollars or more," the Knoxville paper said: "There can be no doubt that with such an improvement, the output of coal in this district would be doubled and tripled . . . . It would add many millions of wealth to the territory affected that would be of advantage to the whole country."[30] The statement must have been meant for humor because all knew that no development of navigation could result from any amount of improvement on the Clinch River unless the whole river system were developed.[31]

On certain minor issues which aroused interest from time to time, the East Tennessee Republicans would as likely as not take a stand which would lose as well as gain votes. One minor issue on which they did not appear at their best occurred when Jesse M. Littleton, campaigning for the governorship in 1904, opened his speaking tour in Rutledge. In this little city some thirty miles from the home of the state university located at Knoxville, he levelled a bitter attack on the University. Littleton criticized the way the University had been run and the influence it wielded in the state. Some Republicans were at a loss to explain this attack on an institution which most Tennesseans appreciated in a passive sort of way. The day after the speech the *Journal* said, "Mr. Littleton was most unfortunate in his statements concerning the University . . . . [They] are as erroneous as they well could be."[32]

H. Clay Evans, speaking in Chattanooga, took the popular side of a minor issue when he said:

> The federal soldier dishonors himself by underestimating his foe

[29]*Ibid.*, April 26, 1908. It might be pointed out that these "improvements" always permitted the water to flow on as it had for thousands of years. No Tennessean, Republican or Democrat, ever dreamed the dream which really meant the improvement of the river. When an outsider conceived the idea and a Democratic administration at Washington started the improvement, East Tennessee Republicans privately, and sometimes openly, opposed it.

[30]*Ibid.*, October 10, 1908. The real improvement of this river, the construction of Norris Dam as a part of the TVA project, did not provide for any navigation on the Clinch, nor was any advocated.

[31]*Ibid.*, April 10, October 7, 1906.

[32]*Ibid.*, July 6, 1904.

> who wore the grey. These veterans are getting old. Many of them have encountered adversity. The general government cannot pension them, but Tennessee can. I am for liberal appropriations [for this purpose].[33]

Evans came to Tennessee with the Union army but was now running for governor and needed all the votes he could get. A man of unquestioned ability, he did not realize all his ambitions in Tennessee politics.

The Republicans were seldom able to arouse interest in a cause by their stand, for they were not likely to win any state election. On such issues as industrialism, internal improvements, Confederate veteran problems, or education, they elicited little if any enthusiasm despite the fact that they gave more time and attention to such issues than did Democrats.

There was one issue of major proportions on which the Republicans really achieved success—prohibition. This issue was not new in Tennessee, but heretofore it had either been voted on in a separate election in which the East Tennessee Republicans could vote for prohibition without soiling their records as strict party men or it had been offered on a third party ticket in which the Republicans, though ardent political drys, always proved more ardent party men. Now, as prohibition on a state-wide basis moved toward the center of all political thinking, the tendency was for the Republican party to embrace it as a major issue while the Democratic party was moving toward a complete schism on the question. The prohibition movement became prominent in 1906 when the Republican convention nominated W. R. Reeves and took as its position, "We favor temperance legislation—all legislation that will suppress the liquor traffic in the state." The nominee was thoroughly instructed that such was the Republican stand.[34]

It is not necessary to point out that a prohibitionist understands temperance to mean total abstinence enforced by law. Tennessee had at the time what was known as the Adams Law which permitted local option and state enforcement. By the summer of 1906 many people were arguing that prohibition should be made state-wide regardless of opposition in certain localities. These people and others also demanded what was called a federal "anti-jug" law by which the federal government would prohibit the shipment of liquor into dry sections.[35] The liquor issue was frequently tied in with race-track gambling, and those who opposed one also opposed the other. Speaking in Middle Tennessee, Evans said, "Anti-race track gambling legislation would destroy the breeds of horses," but he thought

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[33]*Ibid.*, October 27, 1906. What the state ought to do and could afford to do for its Confederate veterans was an issue in every state election.

[34]*Ibid.*, April 11, 1906.

[35]*Ibid.*, July 13, 1906.

it "infinitely better to protect the breeds of the human race."[36] He frequently boasted of his ironworks at Chattanooga and the number of men he employed but was now setting forth as his crowning achievement in the state that he had secured a temperance law which established a six-mile dry zone around his iron mill.[37]

Some Republicans, even candidates for public office, did not hold to the strict prohibition lines of the party in their private activities. Former Congressman John C. Houk left a note among his papers with an illegible signature which said, "I am sending you today, provided I can persuade the express company to come after it, four quarts of, I think, the same whiskey that I sent you before."[38] Another Republican who in his private life probably failed to practice what his party preached was Congressman Nathan W. Hale, who while campaigning for re-election in the second district in 1906, gained wide publicity as the manufacturer of "Hale's Bitters" which was bought for an intoxicant rather than for medicine.[39] Hale's business activities and perhaps his products must have appealed to the voters even though they were prohibitionists, for he carried every precinct in Knox, his home county—a "thing no other Republican ever did." He also carried Jefferson City in Jefferson County and Harriman in Roane County for the first time since the days of the "illustrious and immortal L. C. Houk."[40] Some of the results achieved by Hale were not unusual the second district usually elects the incumbent Republican regardless of issues, character, or ability.

The prohibition issue had other and more significant angles. In 1908 Edward W. Carmack and Malcolm R. Patterson contended fiercely in the Democratic primary over prohibition. Patterson, the anti-prohibitionist, won the gubernatorial nomination by a close margin. Carmack thought of contesting the results but decided not to do so and issued a statement saying that "the fight against liquor must go on."[41] The Republicans did not hold a primary, which is the usual procedure when the problem is one of per-

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[36]*Ibid.*, October 18, 1906.

[37]*Ibid.*

[38]? to Houk, January 19, 1907, Houk Manuscripts. The note was written on stationery of the Internal Revenue Service, Office of the Agent, Louisville, Kentucky. The signature is illegible.

[39]A document circulated during the campaign said in part: "Hale is dumb on the temperance question. He openeth not his mouth. Neither can he do so consistently, for he both manufactures and sells so-called patent medicines composed largely of alcohol, which so-called medicines are bought not because of their medicinal qualities but because they make men drunk." A poor Coal Creek miner, while intoxicated, stabbed an absolute stranger, was arrested, tried, and convicted. While on trial he swore that he had drunk only one bottle of Hale's Bitters. See Knoxville *Journal*, November 2, 1906. The paper admitted that "Hale is connected with an establishment that manufactures some proprietary medicines" which "have been passed upon by the proper authorities," and passed as free from taxation as provided when medicines "contain as much as twenty-five percent of alcohol."

[40]*Ibid.*, November 19, 1906.

[41]*Ibid.*, July 1, 1908.

suading a fairly prominent member to run for governor "for the good of the party." There were two factions in the Republican party, the "Anti-Home Rule Boys" and the "Regulars." The former faction held a convention at Chattanooga and declared for state-wide prohibition. Their slogan was to be the "abolishment of whiskey from the state."[42] They did not nominate a candidate. The regulars held a convention about the same time and nominated George N. Tillman. Tillman in his acceptance speech declared for prohibition which he said was the "main issue before the people."[43]

On several occasions the *Journal* charged that colored men "will be expected in this campaign to come over on the side of Governor Patterson and to vote."[44] The charge would have had some effect if a portion of the electorate could have been convinced that the Negroes were going to vote in the Democratic primary. It also implied erroneously that the Negro would vote against prohibition or any other reform measure. The Nashville *American* gave the real reason for such a charge when it said, "The republicans are using the prohibition question in Tennessee as an entering wedge to divide the democrats and admit themselves to power."[45] That was what happened, although the Republicans were only slightly responsible for the results. Shortly after the 1908 election in which Patterson defeated Carmack, the prohibitionist candidate, in the primary, Carmack was shot and killed by two political enemies in his own party. The shooting, which took place on a principal business street in Nashville, created a political sensation, and much bitter feeling was expressed throughout the state against the killers, Colonel D. B. Cooper and his son Robin Cooper, prominent newspaper publishers of Nashville. In the course of a long and bitter trial in which the Governor was not impartial, the Coopers were convicted and sentenced to serve twenty years in the penitentiary. The case was carried to the state supreme court where the sentence for the elder Cooper was confirmed by a divided court despite powerful influence, while the son's case was returned to a lower court for retrial. Governor Patterson gave his friend, Colonel Cooper, a full pardon before the court had finished

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[42]Chattanooga *Times*, August 10, 1908.

[43]Knoxville *Journal*, August 15, 1908. In addition to standing for statewide prohibition in this first speech, Tillman elaborated at some length on his heritage, proving that he was a southerner and that his family had fought on the side of the South. He apologized for giving his heritage but pointed out that "since the earliest times people of Sumner County have been fond of good stock and have always been opposed to scrub politicians as well as scrub horses." See *ibid.*, September 6, 1908.

[44]*Ibid.*, September 9, 1908. The paper was going out of the way for a jibe tinged with race prejudice because both sides in any election with the possible exception of Democratic primaries tried to vote as many Negroes as would vote the party ticket. *Ibid.*, September 12, 1908.

[45]Nashville *American*, quoted in *ibid.*, October 6, 1908.

reading the decision and before Cooper had petitioned for a pardon.[46] This was the climax of the prohibition fight in Tennessee; though it did not end the question, it did result in the enactment of a "bone-dry" law in 1909. It also interrupted the predominance of the Democratic party in state affairs for a four-year period.

Prohibition was now the paramount issue before all the voters of the state. It had hopelessly split one of the parties—a split which would continue for some years. In the next biennial election, that of 1910, the Republicans nominated as their candidate for governor Captain Ben W. Hooper, an East Tennessean who stood foursquare for prohibition. His support grew because of his ability, his stand on prohibition, and his popularity with Democrats. The issue of prohibition plus a severe split in the Democratic ranks made possible the election and re-election of Hooper to the governorship, but his election did not solve the liquor question. Governor Hooper was plagued more than once during his first administration by the problem. Once he said:

> There are certain republican officials . . . who have seen fit to ally themselves with the so-called regular democracy, hamper my administration, attempt to destroy an honest election law and restore power to the liquor machine in Tennessee. . . . I will not compromise one iota of principle in dealing with them.[47]

No one questioned his sincerity in making such a statement,[48] as he had enforced the prohibition law rigorously. Hooper took the same stand on prohibition in the election of 1912.

In 1912 while the Democratic party in the state was still split Woodrow Wilson was running for the presidency on a comprehensive reform platform. Because of the liquor question some Democratic papers of the state including the powerful Nashville *Banner* supported Governor Hooper for re-election and Wilson for the presidency. The *Banner* pointed out that any attempt at unity of the Democratic party was a "subterfuge," an attempt to win for the "liquor interests" and the Patterson machine. "All of these Wilson abhors," said the *Banner*, and it charged further that the liquor

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[46] *Ibid.*, April 14, 16, 17, June 29, 1910. The court started reading the opinion at 9:49 and finished with dissenting opinions at 2:00 p. m. At 2:14 p. m. Colonel D. B. Cooper, on his way to jail, was advised by his attorney that he had received his full pardon.

[47] *Ibid.*, January 13, 1912.

[48] *Ibid.*, May 4, 1912. While governor he wrote an open letter to the judge of Davidson County stating that a $25,000 corruption fund had been raised in Nashville by liquor leaders to "purchase immunity from legal molestation." He offered to furnish "plain, positive, and conclusive evidence that several hundred men in various capacities are openly, publicly and notoriously violating the anti-saloon laws in Nashville" and to furnish "the name of the man who collected and held the fund, the names of numerous liquor dealers who contributed to this fund."

interests "are trying to ride to victory on his coattails."[49] Hooper was re-elected by a majority of 10,000 votes even though he campaigned in a normally Democratic state against the young, popular, and able Benton McMillin, and in spite of the fact that the redoubtable Theodore Roosevelt came into the state and spoke against him. Of more significance, he won despite the fact that the state went Democratic in the presidential election by an 18,000 majority.[50] Hooper's victory was more of a tribute to prohibition as a powerful issue than to him personally.

East Tennessee Republicans followed closely the national Republican party on all issues. They were persistent in following the party even on issues which weakened their position in state affairs. A brief examination of their stand on such issues as the tariff, business, labor, socialism, liberalism, and imperialism will indicate clearly their complete harmony with the national party on these questions.

Tennessee Republicans believed not only that the tariff would bring wealth and prosperity to the nation but also that the tariff issue would turn Tennessee into a Republican state. Brownlow wrote to the Nashville *Banner* in 1904, when Congress was dallying with the Platt Bill which would have reduced the representation of the South in proportion to adult Negroes not permitted to vote, stating that he "did not believe in the reduction of Southern representation" because "the South would soon reach a point of Republicanization" due to the benefits "of the tariff." The *Journal* in a long editorial agreed that the great benefits of the tariff would influence the South toward Republicanism but said that Republicans would have to stand on "principles" and cease to engage in a "mere scramble for public federal offices."[51] Tillman, an aspirant for the governorship in 1908, said, "As to the revision of the tariff, I am one of those who believe that no greater misfortune could happen to the South than the bringing of the tariff down to a revenue basis without regard to the principle of protection."[52] On every possible occasion the *Journal* stood for protective tariffs. In the days when reformers thought the Dingley tariff could be lowered slightly without ruining the country, East Tennesseans felt differently. They said among many other things that the "farmers have

[49]Nashville *Banner*, November 2, 1912.

[50]Knoxville *Journal*, October 1, 1912, and ff. through the campaign; the Progressive party candidate for governor in Tennessee was W. F. Poston of Dresden. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office).

[51]Knoxville *Journal*, December 30, 1904.

[52]*Ibid.*, September 6, 1908.

never enjoyed [such] prosperity as since the Dingley tariff became law."[53] Many people of the agricultural South questioned the value of buying in a protected market and selling in an unprotected market, but the Republicans in line with the industrialists of the North never raised any questions against the tariff.

On the question of "big business" or trusts the East Tennesseans again clung to the old-line policy even when Roosevelt was winning popularity as a "trust buster." During the years of his administration the Knoxville *Journal* ran several editorials on the evils of big business, but the editorials were so weak and timorous that in reality they amounted to a defense of big business. In 1908 there appeared a typical example of the way in which some bowed down to business. The editor wrote, "The class of Americans engaged in business are the men who must and should dominate the country." By way of proof he continued: "They pay the men who are employed in the factories and the mines and the mills who [in turn] buy their bread and meat from the farmers. Without them the farmers would have no incentive to enterprise." As to industry, "if the employee votes against the interests of his employer he votes against his own interests."[54] The thesis that businessmen were the salvation of the country was propounded on many occasions.

The reaction of the spokesman for all East Tennessee Republicans on the great coal strike in 1900 probably showed the true attitude of these voters toward labor unions and strikes. The strike centered in Pennsylvania in the hard coal region, but the soft coal miners were affected and Tennessee, even Knoxville, felt repercussions. As the news of the strike covered the front page day after day, the editorial page for months remained silent on the question. But when politics began to be mentioned in relation to the strike, the editor assured his readers, "We are asked what effect the strike will have on the politics of the country. It will injuriously affect the party in power. It always does." Placing his reliance on prosperity and a lack of responsibility of the party in power, he continued, "The country has been universally prosperous under the McKinley administration and no-body pretends that he is in any way to blame for the strike."[55] This was negative. Certainly a calamity as widespread and as serious as a coal strike, he must have felt, was caused by the Democrats! The chance to place

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[53] *Ibid.*, May 11, 1906. The extremes to which some Republicans would go in support of the tariff is shown by such comments as: "England is waking up to the fact that the cream of its skilled workmen are emigrating. . . . In looking for the cause it has been found that the workmen go . . . to countries which have a protective tariff." See *ibid.*, May 24, 1906. Often when a noticeable change in the number of votes cast in the national election in Knox County was apparent, the *Journal* would say that it was due to a change in the attitude toward the protective tariff. The change was of course a movement toward the protective tariff. Consult *ibid.*, November 17, 1908.

[54] *Ibid.*, October 10, 1908.

[55] *Ibid.*, September 16, 1900.

blame came when Bryan commented on the strike. The paper said that the Democratic condidate

> hopes to reap the reward if any. [Bryan] is delighted with the strike. He does not consider the loss of millions a month, directly in wages paid to the miners . . . . He sees only the votes that may come to him as the apostle of discontent and the prophet of calamity.[56]

On one of the few occasions that the paper showed any feeling for the miners, during the coal strike of 1902, it mentioned the difficulties of those laborers, how they started out as boys opening and shutting gates, later became drivers and finally miners. A second editorial in the same issue, entitled the "Pity of it," pointed out that the poor people "suffer unheated homes," and went on to describe "crying children" and the "hungry struggling mothers." No question was ever raised about the operators who refused to arbitrate despite the urging of President Roosevelt. The climax in the paper's reaction came in its attitude after the President conferred with the union leaders and the operators, and found the union leaders willing to arbitrate and to let the President name the arbitration board. The operators offered to negotiate with the men individually, but not with the union. They went further and promised that if Pennsylvania would give them the protection they needed they would get the coal mined. Republicans in East Tennessee, assuming that their paper represented their true sentiment, claimed that the operators should have the protection and be given an opportunity to work the mines and then if they "fail to relieve [the coal shortage], the responsibility will rest on them."[57] Such an attitude grew naturally out of a feeling that big business could do no wrong and from a fear that humanitarianism would develop into socialism.[58]

Socialism was a political bugaboo during the first years of the twentieth century. An item or two will show how East Tennesseans felt toward it. At the time of the San Francisco disaster in 1906, Knoxvillians were satisfied that their city of approximately 35,000 people had done its part by raising $1,000 to aid the earthquake victims. The city's Republican paper cried out against any aid's being voted by Congress—that would be "socialism" and "socialism is strong in San Francisco. It now seems time," it con-

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[56]*Ibid.*, September 18, 1900.

[57]*Ibid.*, October 5, 1902.

[58]It is the understanding of the writer that the attitude of the *Journal* toward labor has not changed to the present. One of the early cases under the National Labor Relations Act involved the relation of the paper with its workers and, according to reports of "cease and desist" orders, the workers were not permitted to organize for bargaining purposes.

tinued, "to encourage San Francisco to self help."[59] Probably such an attitude toward the San Francisco disaster was not held by a majority of the readers of this paper. As to the income tax amendment, the East Tennessee organ tried it by one standard,—would it result in socialism—and commented that it had "no serious objection" to an income tax because it would not "mean socialism." On the question of the direct election of senators, however, the East Tennesseans would have none of it. At least the paper was "vehemently opposed" to the addition of any such amendment to the Constitution. No such step toward socialism should be taken.[60]

East Tennessee Republicans were only once tempted, it seems, to take the liberal side of a political and economic question. If ever an occasion presented itself in which a liberal stand seemed logical, it was in the disputes leading to the party break in 1912. Roosevelt was popular in East Tennessee. Many East Tennesseans had volunteered to go to Cuba along with him, and while not all were "Roughriders," most of them desired a vigorous prosecution of the war. Participants returned with Roosevelt as their hero. Then, as President, he increased his popularity in East Tennessee. In 1902 he stopped over in Knoxville for a visit with its richest family—the Sanfords. He also made a speech, toured the town, and stopped to see Mrs. William G. Brownlow.[61] Toward the end of his administration, the economical East Tennesseans offered defenses against the charge of extravagance in his administration. "This is a big country and it has been engaging in big things which call for the expenditure of money. Those charging extravagance must specify if they wish to be heard," they said.[62]

When Taft became president these East Tennesseans were loyal to him as they had been to Roosevelt. As progressive issues began to be brought forward, East Tennessee Republicans almost always opposed them.[63] When the insurgents in Congress were about to wreck the control of a handful of administration men and permit the Congress to become an autonomous body, the *Journal* stormed against them, saying that the leaders and the President knew best and the reformers ought to be treated like the "radical disorganizers and insurgents which they are."[64]

When the Pinchot-Ballinger-Glavis affair broke during the Taft administration, the Republicans of East Tennessee stood staunchly with Taft

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[59]Knoxville *Journal*, May 4, 1906.
[60]*Ibid.*, April 6, 1906.
[61]*Ibid.*, September 9, 1902. The President got out of the fine carriage, went into her home, chatted a few minutes with Mrs. Brownlow, looked out the window at the little shop where the famous Knoxville *Whig* was once printed—"It was raining, hard as hell"—and kissed a child or two before he went to the Woman's Building where he made a speech to about 5,000 people who had braved the rainstorm to see and hear him.
[62]*Ibid.*, September 25, 1908.
[63]*Ibid.*, April 10, 1906; December 9, 1908.
[64]*Ibid.*, January 10, 1910.

and the conservatives. Their paper at one time said that "probably all intelligent men were opposed to Pinchot," whom the paper referred to as "Pugnacious Pinchot."[65] While Roosevelt, who had held the headlines by his hunt in Africa, was on his way home, the East Tennesseans began to sense that something was up, something out of the ordinary in political circles. The *Journal* said that "whether he [Roosevelt] sees fit to run for the presidency or not, he will find much to say and do."[66] As the break became obvious, it declared that "Taft and the majority should defy the minority" and if the minority wanted to go on and wreck the party as they were doing let them go.[67] Eventually the *Journal* had to choose between Taft, the regular party man, and Roosevelt, the popular and greatly admired hero of most East Tennesseans; it chose Taft and the regulars without any hesitation, but not all party voters approved. When John C. Houk joined the Progressives, the *Journal* announced that he had renounced all allegiance to the Republican party and had joined the Progressives which he helped to organize.[68] For once, as the election returns show, the East Tennessee voters did not follow their newspaper in its standpat policy.[69]

The East Tennessee Republicans during the first decade of the century maintained a strong imperialistic stand. As the Philippines were slowly conquered and brought under the control of the American army, the administration received strong support in its stand to hold the islands. Tennessee's Senator Carmack was in opposition and made many speeches in the Senate and elsewhere against imperialism.[70] The general attitude was probably best shown by a sarcastic *Journal* editorial based on a statement in the Chicago *Tribune* in 1902:

> The *Tribune* says "imperialism as a political issue is dead and buried." Of course it has not heard of Carmack and his awakening voice and that penetrating voice is not idle. Such ignorance in a great metropolitan newspaper is unpardonable. While Carmack lives, imperialism will be one of the liveliest issues, and imperialists will be sorry they were ever born.[71]

This was the feeling almost three decades before East Tennesseans along with a majority of their party turned from imperialism to isolationism.

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[65]*Ibid.*, January 8, 1910.
[66]*Ibid.*, March 16, 1910.
[67]*Ibid.*, March 20, 1910.
[68]*Ibid.*, September 9, 1912.
[69]In East Tennessee Roosevelt polled some 30,000 votes to about 21,000 for Taft. Roosevelt had about 3,000 more votes in East Tennessee than Wilson. Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office).
[70]Knoxville *Journal*, May 8, 1902, and previous issues.
[71]*Ibid.*, September 26, 1902. The *Journal* had earlier advocated the annexation of Cuba in disregard of the Teller Amendment. *Ibid.*, 1899-1900, *passim*.

Another thing which shows the attitude of the party happened during a period when General Jacob Smith was being severely criticized for some of his actions in the Philippines by Senator Carmack, Senator George F. Hoar of Massachusetts, and some others. Roosevelt had retired Smith from the army. The East Tennessee paper held that the "punishment was too severe," that Smith had taken the proper stand and that his "severity hastened the end of the war and brought permanent peace to Samar," and that only those people criticized him who loved men of other "countries more than they loved their fellow countrymen."[72] This would seem to indicate that the East Tennesseans were a harsh people who not only favored imperialism, but stood for cruelty toward natives of the Philippines for trying to defend their own islands. The Republicans of the section like all other people are not at their best in partisan politics.

Other questions of an imperialistic nature received the same warmhearted approval. On the Panama question the paper said that "Roosevelt's statement to the Congress settled the thing," that he had all the facts, and that only "one in a thousand would accuse him of deliberately misstating them." It felt that Panama had a perfect right to her independence, that Colombia would have been unmercifully cruel to Panama, that, in fact, it was "independence or death for the smaller republic."[73] Finally, the Drago Doctrine had warm admirers in East Tennessee where it was contended that the policy would "put South American Republics on their best behavior toward their creditors, else it will mean ruined credit."[74] They might have added that, in view of the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, it would mean complete control by the United States for an indefinite time.

In 1906 the *Journal* quoted an editorial in the Washington *Star* which said among other things that the people of Tennessee were "interested along the party lines" and that they stood "with the party for . . . sound money, protection and expansion."[75] The statement was true and might have been broadened to include any issue for which the national party stood or had stood and East Tennesseans, with few exceptions, would have been found following the national party platform.

The place of the Negro voter in Tennessee politics raised a question which was the biggest and most consistent handicap to the Republican party of the state. This was true not because the party men were at fault but because it was simply a situation in which the majority of voters in both parties were hostile—some with reason and more without reason—to a racial group. The place of the Negro voter loomed so important in the early

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[72]*Ibid.*, October 3, 1902.
[73]*Ibid.*, January 10, 1904.
[74]*Ibid.*, April 2, 1906. The Drago Doctrine was that force should not be used to collect unpaid international debts.
[75]Washington *Star*, quoted in *ibid.*, May 24, 1906.

years of the century that the topic became too large to be treated as a state issue. Any group or party identified by its own wishes, or without them, with the Negroes of the state automatically reaped the scorn and indeed the hatred of a large number of voters. The Republicans felt the same hostility toward the Negroes as did the Democrats. In many cases even more enmity was felt because they lived in the eastern mountain sections where Negroes were comparatively few while the Democrats lived in the same regions as the Negroes and were quite accustomed to them and depended on them as a labor supply. Another factor which had great weight was that the Democratic leaders could afford to be generous toward the Negroes in a political campaign because the quest for office did not depend on the Negro vote. The situation was altogether different in a primary election. The Republicans on the other hand felt that they must have many Negro votes, all white Republican votes, and in addition, some Democratic votes in order to win any state-wide election. Thus the Republicans were always in the unenviable position of courting the Negro vote and at the same time trying to show the Democrats and their own white voters that they did not want it. For example, the campaign of 1906 was hardly well under way until the *Journal* was carrying long editorials on H. Clay Evans' vote on the "Force Bill" of 1890, a question then sixteen years old. The editorials were in defense of Evans, candidate for governor, who was charged with having voted for the bill while a member of Congress. The paper argued that the Democrats in the state had passed as infamous a force bill as any ever proposed in Congress, that the federal "Force Bill" was after all not a real force bill—and "not against the south." Moreover, Evans, according to his defenders, was a friend of the South and not hostile to it as the "Democrats were claiming."[76] This defense of an otherwise strong candidate was being offered almost before any charges were made.

President McKinley was criticized severely for some of his southern appointments. It was pointed out that in one or two instances he appointed Negro postmasters, and in doing so "aroused the indignation of the White people of the communities . . . . But where white southern republicans have been appointed to federal offices, the southern press has raised a hue and cry about them being disreputable politicians."[77] It was not only a question of Negro appointments, but a question of the whole structure of the party which was affected by the Negroes because of their relationship to it. The race question appeared one way or another in almost every election. In 1906 the Republicans were arguing that "Counties in East Tennessee where the

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[76]*Ibid.*, August 29, 1906. The "Force Bill" was a measure introduced in the House about 1888 by Congressman Henry C. Lodge "which aimed to establish federal supervision over all polling places at national elections and thus prevent the exclusion of colored voters in the Southern states."

[77]*Ibid.*, July 6, 1906.

Negro population is largest are the [counties most often] carried by the democrats." In the three West Tennessee counties of Fayette, Haywood, and Shelby, in which the "Negro population out numbers the white, large democratic majorities are invariably counted."[78] This of course was true, the reason being that in counties with heavy Negro populations the whites were almost unanimously Democrats and they kept strict control of voting privileges and machinery. The significant point was that the Republican press was trying to defend the party against the accusation of independence on the Negro vote.

East Tennessee Republicans were ready to admit a desire for a white Republican party in the state. The question was often discussed and sometimes on a basis broader than a state or local platform. At one time East Tennesseans wondered how McKinley felt toward a "lily white" Republican party in the South. "It is assumed," said the *Journal,* that "he does not approve . . . the organization of a republican party on a white basis . . . . His sincerity is not questioned." The paper then came to the support of a Republican Senator Jeter C. Pritchard who had advocated a white Republican party in the South:

> We have confidence in the discretion and party loyalty of Senator Pritchard. He has studied the southern situation and understands it. He knows well that if there is ever to be a republican party in the south that will be respected and gather strength it must have recruits from the ranks of white men.[79]

Republicans in East Tennessee often claimed that it would be a good thing if all Negroes could be eliminated from politics. The *Journal* made such a claim in a long editorial in 1902, saying that it would be good for the Republicans, the Democrats, and for the Negroes if it could be effected.[80] Again and again it returned to this theme in an effort to prove that the

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[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.*, November 22, 1902. Jeter C. Pritchard was a Republican senator from North Carolina. The Washington *Post*, date unknown, carried an editorial which said in part: "White republicans of the South are not weaklings to be despised. [They] are not the men who can be whipped into line by any president no matter how potent and how resolute he may be. White republicans of the South are secure from every form of personal persecution. . . . If there is to be a republican organization in any southern state. . . it must be constituted of such material as we have described. But that material is not the product of pap and hectoring."

"The effort," continued the *Post*, "of certain well-known southern republicans to so organize the party as to draw strength from the white people of the section is not free from imperfections. These will be seen and defects will be remedied; but the movement has merit viewed from any standpoint. It will be a benefit to the country; it will strengthen the party, and it will finally be a vast benefit to the colored race. The South will remain solid so long as the Negro has much to do with the control of the party to which the South is now opposed." Quoted in Knoxville *Journal*, November 22, 1902.

[80] *Ibid.*, September 3, 1902.

Republican party did not gain by the Negro vote. "There can be no such thing as building up a strong republican party in Tennessee based on the Negro votes. What is so in Tennessee is true in all the other States of the south," the paper asserted.[81] There is some proof that the Negro voters were very few and therefore not an asset to the party. In the November election of 1902 the Republican convention in the tenth congressional district nominated T. C. Phelan as its candidate for Congress. Colored Republicans of the district claimed that they had not gotten a fair deal by the convention, so they "nominated" L. B. Eaton, a white man, as their candidate for Congress. The few votes he received bore no resemblance to the size of the colored population of the district.[82]

On the whole race question the party's position was highly untenable, for Republican spokesmen tried to show that the party did not have Negro support in its organization, and that Republican candidates did not favor the Negro voters. On one occasion, it was said that a certain convention was the "largest republican convention ever held . . . more than three thousand delegates in the hall." Of the delegates not "half a dozen were drunk. Another feature was notable . . . that was the small number of colored delegates present. Time was when the colored delegates were a large proportion of the whole."[83] Such a comment could hardly be designed to snare Negro votes, but was intended to show that the party was a "White man's party." Later in the 1906 campaign the *Journal* pointed out that Evans made a speech in Memphis attended by 1,200 people "notable because of the presence of a single Negro."[84] In almost the same breath with which the Republicans had proved that they neither had nor desired Negro support they suddenly admitted, "It is natural that the colored voters should vote with the party that was instrumental in freeing them from slavery."[85] In the same year the Republican paper said paradoxically, "When Evans stands for manhood suffrage he is not advocating negro suffrage."[86] The substance of the whole thing was that the East Tennessee Republicans wanted two parties for white men and none for the Negro, while Democrats throughout the state were content with their own majority party which was for white

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[81] *Ibid.*, August 18, 1910.

[82] *Ibid.*, December 10, 1902; Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, November 5, 1902.

County	*Population of District*		*Vote for Republican candidates*	
	White	*Negro*	*Phelan*	*Eaton*
Shelby	68,754	84,773	279	64
Hardeman	12,771	10,235	472	5
Tipton	15,307	13,969	548	22
Fayette	8,019	21,682	291	—

[83] Knoxville *Journal*, July 16, 1906.

[84] *Ibid.*, October 13, 1906.

[85] *Ibid.*, October 11, 1906.

[86] *Ibid.*, September 25, 1906. See *ibid.*, October 30, November 30, 1906, for other phases of Negro question.

men only. The unconstitutionality of the position of each party would never occur to the rank and file of the voters if indeed it occurred to the leaders. After any election despite the frightening statements which had been made, most would agree that the state government was in no danger of being seized by the Negroes and never had been; nevertheless, it was true that the Negro question helped Democrats more than any other issue.[87] Conversely, it was the most damaging issue to the Republicans. Finally, it was the least worthy of any issue in any campaign.

Factions within the party baffled the Republicans and handicapped their party almost as seriously as the Negro question. There was much rivalry over the few offices to be filled. In the East Tennessee counties practically all the offices were filled by Republicans. In fact, in these counties the Democrats were too weak to offer enough opposition to hold the Republicans together. As a result the Republicans often broke up into factions and cut each other's throats politically and sometimes injured each other physically. The strong factional fights usually developed over federal offices, but the groups had other things to fight about. The faction in power would often trade with the Democrats in state elections. This always gave the rival Republicans a chance to accuse their fellow party men of supporting the Democrats and betraying their own party.

This political skullduggery in both parties can be examined by following the biennial elections in the state and watching the political feuds mar the chances of Republican success, or, of more importance, factional activities discourage possible new adherents to the Republican party. All the factions marched across the pages of the Republican paper of East Tennessee which was sometimes deploring the factional fights and urging Republicans to stand together and at other times taking an active part in the fights. The paper was seldom able to pour oil on the troubled waters.

In 1900 the Republican party held two conventions at Nashville each of which picked a delegation to the Philadelphia national party convention. The *Journal* commented, "The only thing involved is nearness to the pie counter . . . each faction trying to scrouge in and keep the other out." Then the paper appealed to the Republican masses, the farmer, the mechanic, and the businessman to keep cool and think. Parties have come through "worse conditions," it asserted.[88] At the national convention Mark Hanna and the National Committee seated Congressman Brownlow's friends and refused admission to Evan's adherents.[89] After the state election in 1900 was over,

[87] *Ibid.*, June 17, 1906.

[88] *Ibid.*, April 21, 1900.

[89] *Ibid.*, June 16, 1900. Walter P. Brownlow was congressman from the first district. H. Clay Evans was a former congressman from the third district. Congressman Gibson of the second district acted as sponsor for the victor. The *Journal* said: Senator Hanna's friends from the South especially the office holders, receive the Marble heart—Ohio Senator Makes a Telling Plea for Harmony among the factions from Delaware." *Ibid.*

the Nashville *Banner* stated the Republican situation accurately by saying: "McCall was handicapped by the factional spirit of his own party which has not commended itself as one suitable to take charge of the state's affairs."[90]

Two years later the same factions were dividing the party but much less concern was shown, partly because it was not a presidential election. At least one Republican during this off-year election showed his feelings regarding the factions within his party. John C. Houk wrote:

> Brownlow's leadership in Tennessee has brought the republican party and its organization to a low ebb in the state. What a picture! Brownlow fighting for re-election and glad if he can only get in by one majority in the famous first district. Gibson in danger and scared to death lest he fail of election in what has heretofore been known as the Gibralter of Republicanism [Tennessee's second congressional district]. Brutus and Cassius who were the principal leaders of the republican party in the old Roman days, were defeated by Anthony at Philippi in 42 B. C. and then killed themselves. The republican party in Tennessee would have been a full grown man and gladiator in the midst of battle now if Brownlow and Gibson 6 years ago had followed the examples of Brutus and Cassius and committed suicide by using the hemlock and the dagger.[91]

Houk's memory for Tennessee politics was not so good as his memory of Roman history or he might have mentioned that his father, the redoubtable L. C. Houk, was more than once described as a "bolter," as one who cared only for his own welfare and who would not stand by any party or party decision if his own selfish interest was at stake.[92] The situation was not serious enough to demand suicide on the part of two prominent Republicans, but it was no doubt discouraging to loyal party men.

As the 1904 election approached, the factions were still present in spite of attempts to pacify and unite them. There had been much talk of unity and harmony, and Republicans long at swords points were glad to hear it. "There never should have been," according to the *Journal*, "the discord that brought the party to the condition in which its influence was minimized and through which it lost self respect and the respect of republicans elsewhere." To promote harmony, it was suggested that the counties hold conventions, that these be succeeded by congressional district conventions and by a state convention, and that all should abide by

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[90]*Ibid.*, November 7, 1900. John H. McCall was the Republican candidate for governor.

[91]Houk to James S. Clarkson, October 14, 1902, in Houk Manuscripts.

[92]Verton M. Queener, "The East Tennessee Republicans in State and Nation, 1870-1900," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), II (1943), 109-10.

the results. The party was comparatively harmonious in this campaign. A few days before the election some Republicans were saying, "If all the republican voters in East Tennessee will go to the polls next Tuesday and vote, Walter P. Brownlow will be elected to Congress from the first district and Nathan W. Hale from the second district. Jesse M. Littleton will have such a majority on this side of the mountains that his competitor will not catch him on the other side."[93] When the election was over, the Republican congressional candidates from the first and second districts had won; but Littleton, with a big vote east of the Cumberlands, had been "caught" by a much larger Democratic vote west of the mountains, and was not elected governor.

In 1906 Republicans believed and Democrats conceded that the Republicans had an opportunity to win the governorship. A spokesman said:

> If those who shape and control the affairs of the party cannot forget personal considerations. . . they ought to step down and out and invite others to take their places. Let us. . . forget personal and factional bickerings and show ourselves to be men, not mere babbling, quarreling children.[94]

But in less than a month came the "sad news" of a "rebellion" in the first congressional district. "A few men," lamented the *Journal,* "generally office holders have assumed to dictate the policy of the party . . . to run things to suit themselves." A convention at the Greene County courthouse, where a few men posed as true representatives of the people "whom they in no sense represented," was described as "farcical." The rebellion, it seems, was not against Brownlow but against the political manipulation by party workers. Republicanism was "construed as an endorsement of ring rule" which was designated one of the reasons why the Republican vote of Greene County had fallen off nearly one third.[95] The "rebellion" in the first district was a serious one for the Republican party. Brownlow, a strong man in the district was opposed by Alfred A. Taylor. Brownlow had a firm hold on the party in his own right, and in addition worked with the Democrats of his district and of the state.[96]

In spite of the factional fight in the first district, the East Tennessee Republicans thought they could still elect a governor because of a schism in the Democratic ranks.[97] The first problem was to get Evans nominated,

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[93]Knoxville *Journal*, November 2, 1904.
[94]*Ibid.*, March 9, 1906.
[95]*Ibid.*, April 3, 1906.
[96]He got for his district $50,000 for a post office in Bristol, $110,000 for a federal building at Greeneville, $1,829,500 for a soldiers' home at Johnson City, with $807,500 for maintenance.
[97]Knoxville *Journal*, May 10, 1906.

and to this end some candidates were persuaded to withdraw and endorse him.[98] As the state convention drew near, all were for peace and harmony. The party had taken for its motto, "Equal and exact justice to all republicans and to all who wish to act with the party."[99] Evans received the nomination without serious opposition, a thing which pleased the East Tennessee Republicans. The Democrats were not too sanguine, for Evans was a popular and able campaigner. The state Republican committee, however, decided against a joint campaign and insisted that the committee should not interfere in the contest between Taylor and Brownlow in the first district.[100]

The campaign for the governorship was active and bitter. All the familiar charges were made against Evans; that he was supported by Negroes, that he was a Carpetbagger (which he really was) and that he voted with his party to pass the "Force Bill." Not all the opposition to Evans was extreme or unreasonable. He had, by participating in disputes over the distribution of federal patronage, helped to weaken his party and had shown a lack of interest in state affairs.[101]

The fairly complete harmony of 1906, one might think, should have strengthened the party and encouraged it to hold together for 1908. But such was not the case with the East Tennessee Republicans. Early in the campaign, the situation was described at some length: "Is there anything like it under the sun? Here we have two political parties. No one of the states that joined in the secession movement . . . has so strong a republican party as Tennessee." The spokesman said that Tennessee had more white men who regularly voted Republican than any other southern state and exclaimed, "But what a pickle is Tennessee politics in now! The Democrats are inharmonious . . . divided into factions. The republicans are in a position to say fight dog. Fight bear, there is no dog of mine there." But the party was in as much of a fight as its opponents. The Democrats were disputing over prohibition, but the Republican party had turned "its back upon principle and upon decency when the whole issue in the party, the bone of contention is who shall ride on the front seat of the party wagon and handle the lines."[102] This diatribe by a discouraged member was no exaggeration, for when the party held a convention in Nashville the smoldering discontent broke into an open physical fight.

The first news from Nashville of the convention filled a double column

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[98]*Ibid.*, May 6, 1906.
[99]*Ibid.*, July 11, 1906. Malcolm R. Patterson was the Democratic candidate.
[100]*Ibid.*, August 30, 1906.
[101]Nashville *Banner*, November 7, 1906. Patterson won over Evans by about 20,000 votes due to unhealed factional quarrels and to the fact that Evans had been before the public so long that he had made many political enemies and was vulnerable on many issues.
[102]Knoxville *Journal*, March 11, 1908.

on the *Journal's* front page in type large enough that even those who ran might read:

> Riot reigned at the State Capitol Requiring Police Attention. Mob Pulls Down the State Chairman and Carries him from the Hall. Free for all Fight Lasts for an hour or more, in which Heads were Skinned, Noses Mashed and Clothing of Delegates Torn. State Chairman Newell Sanders Bruised and Choked and his Clothing almost torn from him. He was Twice Dragged from the Stand, only to Regain it. Hale-Evans Forces Finally Able to Get a Motion through that Convention Adjourn until Thursday Morning.[103]

These were some of the screaming headlines. On following days a staff correspondent gave calmer reports, but for many months the incident was referred to as that "disgraceful affair" at the state convention. Needless to say, the party did not nominate any candidate at this convention but postponed all activity until August when two candidates were nominated because their supporters could not agree. A convention of "regulars" nominated George N. Tillman and one of the "irregulars" named T. Asbury Wright.[104] Tillman and Wright were good friends and neither wanted to run for governor; that is, they had no illusions about being elected. Shortly after the conventions Wright withdrew and urged the support of Tillman. But the party's troubles were not ended with the compromise,[105] for Tillman carried his campaign forward only halfheartedly and failed to take advantage of his party's strong stand on prohibition.

There was a second question which tended to divide both parties in this election. That was the new election law which provided that party leaders be elected rather than appointed. Passed over Patterson's veto during his first term, the law was contested before the state supreme court where it was upheld by a split decision. Some Republicans opposed the act even to the point of trying to "poison the mind of the President of the United States against this fair and just law."[106] In spite of factions and an extra issue, Tillman ran almost as well as did Evans two years before and missed the

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[103]*Ibid.*, March 26, 27, 1908.

[104]*Ibid.*, August 19, 1908.

[105]*Ibid.*, November 1, 1908. The party's platform was strongly prohibitionist, but not all Republican candidates would support this issue. State Sen. J. A. Duncan, who was running for re-election, was seen and heard on the streets of Knoxville boasting of a combine and using language that proved he was intoxicated. The *Journal* thought he should not "be reelected." The second district was split with two Republican candidates for Congress, Hale, the *Journal's* candidate, and Richard Austin, about whom the paper said, "a vote for Austin, is a vote for indecency and ruffianism in politics." Austin won. See *ibid.*, November 3, 1910.

[106]*Ibid.*, July 23, 1910.

governorship by about 20,000 votes.[107] This good showing may be partly explained by the unpopularity of the Democratic candidate, Patterson, and divisions in his party.

It has been indicated already that Edward W. Carmack was shot to death as a result of the 1908 election. The people all over the state denounced the killing as "a monstrous outrage." Large public meetings were held at many points, and formal resolutions were adopted "censuring in unmeasured terms the manner of Carmack's" death.[108] His political opponent, Governor Patterson, succeeded two years later in having himself nominated for a third consecutive term, and the Carmack followers rose up in arms to do battle against him at whatever cost. The Richmond *Times-Dispatch* was quoted along with several other out-of-state papers as saying, "Common decency demands that Patterson should be defeated" even if the "anti-Patterson Democrats have to deliberately throw the state into Republican hands for the next few years."[109] Strong Democratic papers in the state such as the Nashville *Banner* were for defeating Patterson at any cost.[110]

The first test of strength in the turmoil of party factions was the judicial election in August, 1910. Failing to gain a decision of acquittal for the Coopers from the supreme court, Patterson determined to elect his own candidates to the court. Carmack followers and Republicans joined in support of an independent judicial ticket. According to the *Journal* the Republicans had pledged to vote for the Independent Democratic judicial candidates if the Independents would vote for the Republican candidate for governor in November.[111] The Independents won the judicial election by from 40,000 to 45,000 votes, carrying all three sections of the state—East Tennessee by a 25,000 majority.[112]

This was almost positive proof that the Republicans had voted in large numbers for the anti-Patterson ticket. The East Tennessee Republicans showed political wisdom, a quality too rarely demonstrated in state activities. They nominated as their candidate for governor Captain Ben W. Hooper, who took care through the campaign not to offend any Democrats, unless possibly the extreme Pattersonites.[113] He felt from the beginning that he would have the support of the Carmack wing of the Democratic party and

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[107]Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office).

[108]Knoxville *Journal*, April 16, 17, 1910. After Edward W. Carmack was defeated in the primary, he was employed by the owner of the Nashville *Tennessean* as editor, and shortly after the November election he published an editorial ridiculing Duncan Cooper, a rival editor in Nashville, for the part that Cooper had supposedly played in the last campaign. Cooper and his son Robin took offense and the next day met Carmack on the street and Robin shot him, the Coopers claimed, in self defense.

[109]Quoted in *ibid.*, July 25, 1910.

[110]Nashville *Banner*, April 14, 1910.

[111]*Ibid.*, August 5, 1910.

[112]Knoxville *Journal*, August 6, 1910.

[113]Ben W. Hooper had the backing of the strong Nashville *Banner* from the time of his nomination. Nashville *Banner*, September 14, 1910.

that this with solid Republican backing would make him the next governor of the state.[114]

By September it became obvious to all Democrats that they would lose the governorship with Patterson as a candidate. What they did not know was that if the Carmack followers stood by their pledge, implied if not made outright, they would lose the governorship with any candidate. On September 12 headlines fairly screamed that Patterson had withdrawn from the race. Now the field was wide open. Patterson Democrats of course were trying to evolve a scheme whereby the party could be brought together. This frightened the Republicans and Independents alike. The latter group called a meeting in Nashville on September 15 and endorsed Hooper.[115] On October 6 the Democrats held a convention in Nashville and nominated Senator Bob Taylor,[116] who had been governor of the state three times. In each case he had been nominated to pull his party out of a hole. Now all knew that he did not want to be governor. He was sixty years old and was happy as a United States senator.[117] It was a nomination not of choice or convenience, but of desperation; but even the venerable Bob Taylor could not draw the party together. Such party slogans were used as "The untrammeled" or the "fusion ticket," but there was no fusion. Some of Taylor's old friends criticized him for accepting the nomination. The *Banner* said, "Taylor is not a practical doer, but an entertainer of the first water."[118] When the votes were counted, Hooper had won by a 12,000 majority and had carried East Tennessee by a margin of almost two to one.[119] For the first time in three decades the Republicans had won the governorship, the result of having picked an able and moderate man and of the Democrats having fallen out.

Hooper put forward a progressive legislative program which he then used as his second campaign platform because it had not been enacted by the Democratic legislature during his first term. His program called for such improvements as prison reform, a requirement that banks pay interest on state balances, the abolition of a fee system for collecting back taxes, labor legislation, and an anti-railroad pass law.[120] In April, 1912, Governor Hooper appointed Newell Sanders, who long before had recovered from the mauling received at the Nashville convention in 1908, as United States

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[114]East Tennessee boasted about the part played by East Tennesseans in the convention by saying that the first district took all the honors. A "first district man, A. A. Taylor, presided as Temporary Chairman, a first district man of Sevier County presided as permanent chairman. Ben W. Hooper of Newport was a first District man." Knoxville *Journal*, August 18, 1910.

[115]*Ibid.*, September 15, 1910.

[116]*Ibid.*, October 7, 1910.

[117]*Ibid.*, October 8, 1910.

[118]Nashville *Banner*, November 3, 1910.

[119]Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office).

[120]Knoxville *Journal*, September 26, 1912. The anti-pass law would have prevented railroads from granting passes, which they were accused of doing for the "right people," especially members of the legislature and their friends.

senator to replace Bob Taylor, the master entertainer and beloved politician who had died.[121] In spite of all that the Governor could do, his party could not be broken from its old habit of fighting for a place "at the trough," and early in 1912 the *Journal* was forced to cover its front page with these self-revealing headlines: "Hundreds of Men Gathered at the Theatre Doors, Carry the Place by Storm, Once the Doors are Opened, Clamber over Seats and Rush to the Stage Smashing Electric footlights, that Explode like miniature Bombs. Chairman Shipley Calls the Convention to order. Disorder Reigns. Colonel Adam Bowman Struck on the Head with a Gavel wrenched from his hand."[122] The specialized factional fight was in the first district, and was reminiscent of the Nashville convention of 1908, but it did not mean that Hooper would lose any votes where they counted, for he could carry the first district whatever family fights might happen there. Hooper had so far worked cleverly enough to hold his independent Democratic following.

Had the Democrats made a clean sweep of all prominent state leaders and nominated a new man in 1912 they might have reunited the party. They did not do this, but instead named Benton McMillin who had been long identified with the Patterson machine. The Republicans of course nominated Hooper and this nomination was endorsed by the Independent Democrats.[123] The main issue was again prohibition with McMillin standing for "controlling and curbing the traffic in intoxicants." He made the enforcement of the liquor law his main stand.[124] Hooper campaigned on a straight prohibition ticket and on proposed reforms "stifled by Democrats" in the legislature.[125] Hooper emphasized the fact that Woodrow Wilson was a reform candidate, and while he did not support Wilson, he was careful not to offend Wilson's following in the state.[126] The Nashville *Banner* again supported Hooper; McMillin's attitude, that paper asserted, was set forth in a campaign speech in which he remarked that "Prohibitionists have their law and the people have their whiskey."[127] The *Banner* argued correctly throughout the campaign that the state was safe for Wilson and that it was not necessary to elect McMillin to prove it.[128] Theodore Roosevelt's attitude created some doubt as to the outcome of the campaign. He failed to woo the machine Republicans in East Tennessee from their regular party allegiance to his Progressive ticket and spoke against Hooper. The Republican candidate for

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[121]*Ibid.*, April 10, 1912.
[122]*Ibid.*, February 18, 1912.
[123]*Ibid.*, September 19, 1912.
[124]*Ibid.*, September 24, 1912.
[125]*Ibid.*, September 26, 1912.
[126]*Ibid.*, November 7, 1912.
[127]Nashville *Banner*, November 1, 1912.
[128]*Ibid.*, November 4, 1912.

governor carried the state by about 9,000 votes.[129]

Hooper had difficulties with both legislatures because he could not get cooperation from an opposition party. During both terms as governor he had to deal with a "few men who stopped at nothing they thought would embarrass the governor . . . . [The obstructionist] leaders have been democrats of the 'regular' variety, but a few of their followers have called themselves republicans."[130] Hooper in no sense compromised with the obstructionists whether they were in his own party or in the Democratic party. The Republican party with an able and well-liked man in the governorship for two terms was soon to prove that it was still a minority party.

By 1914 the Democrats finally endorsed prohibition as a state-wide measure and they also nominated a new man in politics, Thomas C. Rye. These two features accomplished the end that could have been attained two or even four years before and which would have left the Republicans without an issue.[131] While Hooper was serving his first term, the *Journal* examined the record to determine whether he had been elected by Republicans or by both Republicans and Democrats. The paper compared the number of votes cast for him in some counties with the number cast for Taft in the same counties in 1908. The results in twelve Democratic counties left no doubt as to the real strength of the Republican party under normal conditions:[132]

COUNTY	1908	1910	COUNTY	1908	1910
	TAFT	HOOPER		TAFT	HOOPER
Davidson	2,714	6,185	Obion	707	1,335
Franklin	716	1,092	Robertson	755	1,293
Gibson	1,362	2,344	Rutherford	1,226	2,297
Giles	1,566	2,085	Sumner	693	1,469
Madison	1,357	1,935	Weakley	1,802	2,900
Maury	640	1,920	Williamson	605	1,488

There was, however, some hope that the strong man of East Tennessee might win again for his party. Hooper was therefore nominated for a third term which the Republicans had so earnestly opposed in Patterson's abortive campaign in 1910. Rye won over Hooper by about 25,000 votes in a small turnout, the largest percentage majority a Democratic governor had received for more than a decade. The East Tennessee Republicans cast 60 per cent of the vote in their section, which was 40 per cent of the state's total Republican vote; and the Republicans of all three sections cast 46 per cent of the total state vote. This did not vary from their voting strength

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[129]Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office). Wilson carried the state over both Taft and Roosevelt by about 18,000 votes. Roosevelt polled some 34,000 in East Tennessee and Hooper polled about 51,000. Benton McMillin polled 42,000 in this section of the state.

[130]Knoxville *Journal*, September 24, 1914.

[131]*Ibid.*, November 2, 1914.

[132]*Ibid.*, March 10, 1912.

fifteen years earlier.[133] They had rounded out a fifteen-year cycle in which the party had boldly struggled with some state issues, had never even tugged at the leash which tied it so willingly to the national party, had been embarassed by the race question, and had fought internecine warfare. Without any significant statesmanship on their part to justify the result, East Tennesseans had a partial victory shoved on them twice during the period, and as a result Tennessee had two terms under a Republican governor. These two terms gave the state more efficient law enforcement, began a system of improved public roads, made more money available for public schools, and finally, warned the self-assured Democrats that they could lose elections in Tennessee.[134]

[133]Election Returns (Secretary of State's Office).

[134]John Trotwood Moore, *Tennessee The Volunteer State* 1769-1923 (Chicago, 1923), I, 611-21.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited by

D. C. CORBITT and ROBERTA CORBITT*

(Continued from the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, Nos. 9-21)

XIV - January - April, 1790

WILKINSON TO MOULTRIE, HUGER, SNIPES, AND WASHINGTON, LEXINGTON, JANUARY 4, 1790[1]

Kentucky
Lexington
January 4th 1790—

Gentlemen—

A conscious rectitude of principles will neither Defend the innocent against unmeditated censure, nor Shield a Man of Delicate Sentiments agains the Stings of reproaches, however undeserved; it is therefore with extreme reluctance, I venture to Address you, to whom I am personally unknown, on a Subject in which I have no Direct interest: I can Only offer the importance of the occasion as an apology for the intrusion and will flatter myself I shall find in your liberality and Candor ample Security against any Suspicion injurious to the honesty of My intentions—if you cannot approve you can have No just Motives to reprobate or expose the Observations which May flow from my pen, and I hope you will pardon the exordium dictated by a Sense of propriety to you and to myself.

About the Month of April past I received a Letter from T. Washington[2] bearing the Date 21st February, containing propositions on the Subject of an intended, extensive purchase of Territory from the State of Georgia on the Borders of the Mississippi; I was at that period Actively engaged in preparing for a visit to New Orleans I however answered Major Washington

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*For the editors' introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and phototstats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited as A.G.I., P.C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A. G. I., P. C., 2374. Alexander Moultrie, Isaac Huger, William Clay Snipes, and Thomas Washington were promotors of the South Carolina Yazoo Company.

[2]A copy of this letter is in A. G. I., P. C., 2373. Washington wrote of the purchase from the Choctaws of some six million acres of land near the mouth of the Yazoo River. The Georgia legislature was expected to surrender its claim to the tract for $100,000. Wilkinson was invited to share in the scheme.

& committed my Letter to the Charge of Mr Adair[3] the person who delivered me his, I have mislaid the Copy of that Letter, nor can I recollect the precise contents, I however remember, that I did not Altogether approve his plan and endeavoured to correct an error under which he Laboured with respect to the Chactaw Indians assuring him at the same time of My determination to take Georgia in My Route on My Return from Louisiana— Whether that Letter reached the Major or Not I am unable to Determine, but from his Silence I presume it did not.—

I embarked at the Rapids of Ohio on the fifth of June and reached the City of New Orleans About the 1st of July Where I continued untill the 19th September; during this residence I availed myself of a free and unreserved correspondence with Governor Miro to enter into a discussion of the Subject to Which Major Washingtons Letter pointed. and in the issue [*sic*] I was informed of the only Plan on which a Settlement in that Quarter can be Accomplished—Pursuant to my engagement to Major Washington I intended to visit him on my return, but my detention at New Orleans so far exceeded My calculation, that, urged by my engagements in this country, I was obliged to take the Nearest Route for Kentucky and penetrating the Chactaw & Chickasaw Nations performed the Journey in thirty Days—A few Days Since Capt Cape[4] Called on me, and placed in my hands Major Washingtons Letters to him of the 28th September, also Messrs Moltrie, Huger and Snipes Letter of the First of October, inclosing a Copy of their Letter to Col. John Holder.[5]—My First Observation to Mr. Cape after perusing these Letters was that if they did not bear Strong Marks of Authenticity I should pronounce them Forgeries.—As it is not my purpose to Derogate from the Merits of Any Man nor my wish to wound any persons credit with you, I shall Wave the Smallest animadvertion on the Arrangements you have made, and proceed to Suggest the previous Steps indispensably necessary to the Accomplishment of your Views.—

It is a Stupenduous enterprize, well Worthy the attention it has Attracted, and if Successfully executed must produce immense Wealth to those concerned, but there are Difficulties to be surmounted proportionate to the Magnitude and importance of the Object.—The Fundamentals necessary on the Occasion are sufficient funds, and the Agency of Several Gentlemen of Reference Education and Manners, Popular talents and political Sagacity.— It will be impossible for you under present circumstances to Effect a Settlement before the next Autumn; in the Mean time a Gentleman Suitably qualified Should proceed to New Orleans with Authority to treat for the Company in Order to Secure the Good Offices of Governor Miró without which you may abandon the Scheme as Altogether impracticable.—Having Secured the Friendship of that Gentleman, his influence will enable you to Negotiate successfully with the Chactaws for quiet possession, and peace-

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[3]John Adair (1759-1844) of Mercer County, member of the first constitutional convention of Kentucky in 1792, United States senator, 1806-1816, and governor of Kentucky, 1820-1824. He commanded the Kentucky troops at the Battle of New Orleans.

[4]See Wilkinson's characterization of Captain Cape in his letter to Miró, January 26, 1790, below.

[5]John Holder was a lieutenant colonel under George Rogers Clark in the campaign against the British posts in the Northwest. He had just been chosen colonel of the battalion to be organized to protect the South Carolina Yazoo Company's proposed settlement on the Mississippi.

able occupancy.—The Country must be then explored, and the Spot fixed on for your first establishment.—Measures necessary to promote emigration should be Adopted without delay And this work should be commenced at the Monongahela, where your Funds Should be pushed Via Alexandria with expidition, under the conduct of a Man of responsibility, Knowledge of the World and Address in Business; with proper management in that country, I am certain a Considerable number of Colonists May be put in Motion, and a large quantity of Provisions Secured, but your principal resources must be Derived from this Country.—Whatever May be the Issue of this Letter I feel it My Duty to undeceive you with respect to the [illegible]Grant Which a Mr. Woods[6] holds from the Chactaws.—Believe me Gentlemen that paper is not worth a *pinch of Snuff* I abhor the Idea of imposition and from this Source Springs this information, yet you must Suffer me to caution you against giving umbrage to any of these persons who have enjoyed your confidence in this Business.—A disgusted Friend becomes the Bitterest Foe, and an Active enemy however Obscure may injure the best concerted Schemes—After these observations it remains for me to inform you Gentlemen that I am willing to Cooperate with you as your Agent, I submit the Conditions to be determined at a future Day on Principles of Justice, and will only Stipulate that in the execution of any specific Object where the aid of Seconds may be Necessary, I must be Associated with a Man of Probity and Abilities, and to such a Character I have no objection to be Subordinate: Should you, after Due consideration be inclined to favor My Views I shall be happy to treat with Any Gentlemen you May Duly Authorize for the Occasion. I will give him an interview beyond the Wilderness tho' I had much Rather receive him at My house in this place or Louisville and this perhaps might be the Most judicious arrangement—because the same Gentleman May proceed on the Mission to New Orleans, which will acquire Despatch, as the Negotiation Should be completed in that quarter and the result Made Known by the first of November in Order that the Colonists Might proceed with the earliest Autumnal Floods to the Chosen Spott.

Capt Cape will hand you this Letter.—Whatever may be your determination on the propositions contained in this letter, Will; I flatter myself be communicated to me by express as early as possible.—the expence Shall be mine—I appeal to your Candor and your Justice for the Rest & have the honor Gentlemen to be with . . .

James Wilkinson

The Hon:ble Alexander Moultier [*sic*]
Isaac Huger. Major William Snipes
And T: Washington.

[6]Probably John Woods, whom Georgia had sent as agent to the Choctaws immediately after the Revolution. Benjamin James succeeded him in 1786.

Copy

ROBERTSON TO MIRÓ, MERÓ DISTRICT, JANUARY 13, 1790[7]

Miro District
Davidson County
January 13th 1790

Sir

I am happy to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's Letters of the 20th April[8] and 16th of September[9]

The information they convey afford the highest satisfaction to the Inhabitants of this district more especially as we are already sencible of the good effects of your Excellency's interposition with the Savages having received little or no injury from them for some time past

The opening of New Orleans for our produce under the restrictions you mention must certainly be considered by us as a mark of favour for which we are grateful—The terms in your Excellency's proclamation[10] respecting Emigrants are exceedingly liberal and will command inhabitants and without a better policy is adopted by our states respecting the western Country than at present prevails will in my opinion draw most of the people into Louisiana—

Give me leave to return your Excellency our most sincere and hearty thanks for the good Offices you have rendered this district and be assured Sir you will scarcely find a Settlement under the Spanish government more attached to or where your name and character are more revered that in this

I hope to be honored with a continuance of your Excellency's correspondence. . .

James Robertson

P.S.—This will be delivered by Captn. Irwin and Capt. Berry[11]—Captn Berry is an Inhabitant of Holston of fair character with whom I have been acquainted near twenty years he is desirous of seeng the Country with a view of settling therein if he should like it

J. *Robertson*

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[7]Archivo National de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 6, number 38.

[8]Printed in "Robertson Correspondence," *American Historical Magazine* (Nashville, 1896-1904), I (1896), 78-88. There is a copy in A. G. I., P. C., 2370, and a photostat in the McClung Collection. It is summarized in installment XII of these "Papers," *Publications*, No. 20 (1948), 109n.

[9]Printed in installment XIII of these "Papers," *ibid.*, No. 21 (1949), 92. Compare it with Miró to Smith, September 15, 1789, in *ibid.*, 91.

[10]This proclamation, dated September 6, 1789, in Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 2, number 11, is printed in installment XIII of these "Papers," *ibid.*, 90-91.

[11]The Captain Irwin has not been identified; there were three or four Irwins or Erwins in the Holston country at that time. Berry was probably Capt. (and Sheriff) Thomas Berry of Hawkins County, Tennessee, who had been an ensign in the Washington County, Virginia, militia in 1777-1779 while James Robertson was a captain in the same county, and a member of the Cherokee Expedition. Information supplied by Prentiss Price, Rogersville.

[Translation]

MIRÓ TO CABELLO, NEW ORLEANS, JANUARY 18, 1790[12]

Under date of November 27 of last year Your Lordship stated that because I have not reported to you the results of the journey which Lieutenant Colonel Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos should have made to the Settlements of Franklin and Cumberland in consequence of the very confidential Royal Order of March 23 of last year,[13] you are waiting for me to explain the state of this business, since from your silence some omission on your part might be inferred [by the government in Spain].

My reply to Your Lordship is that as soon as I received the Royal Order mentioned, I sent it to the said Lieutenant Colonel, who, after his arrival in Natchez, was suffering from a considerable deterioration of health caused by a tenacious fever from which he has scarcely begun to recover since he came to this City for that very purpose. In the meantime he has had the misfortune to lose his wife,[14] for which reason I have not given Your Lordship later news on this matter before now. Nevertheless this is not the reason for his delay. It is rather the impossibility of putting into practice an idea which he conceived when he was first commissioned [to come to this province]; but since he arrived in Natchez and took charge of the government there he has talked and treated with a number of inhabitants of Kentucky, Cumberland, and the other settlements on the Ohio, which makes it absolutely impossible for him to present himself in those places without risking recognition, and the resulting jealousy of the United States. Add to this the fact that the said journey is very difficult, dangerous, and expensive to the Royal Treasury, for if it is made by the River it will be necessary to fit out a boat with ten or twelve oars at least, which must carry food for four months. Also, by this route the boat could be easily destroyed by the Indians, because, since it is necessary to go against the current and near the bank, these enemies of any white man who appears on the Ohio—whether Spaniard, Frenchman or American—would have the opportunity to satiate their barbarous desires without the least hindrance. The expenses would be less by land, perhaps, but it would be imprudent to risk at present a long tedious journey through the forests and wildernesses much frequented by Indians who are in what amounts to a general confederation against the Americans, these places being dedicated to their hunts.

These are the reasons why it has seemed best not to make this journey; but no occasion has been lost to collect all the information and reports necessary to form a perfect judgment about those places

God keep &c—New Orleans, January 18, 1790—

Estevan Miró

Senor Don Domingo Cabello.

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[12]A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17. Captain Domingo Cabello of Cuba was Miró's immediate superior.

[13]Gayoso de Lemos, who had an excellent command of English, had been appointed to make a tour incognito of Kentucky and Tennessee, but the project had to be abandoned because he became acquainted with too many individuals from those districts before he got away from Natchez. See Ezpeleta to Valdés, March 3, 1789. *Publications*, No. 19 (1947), 86.

[14]This sad event made it possible for him to marry Miss Margaret Watts of the Natchez district, which helped to make him one of Spain's most popular officers in Louisiana—at least with the Anglo-American element.

WILKINSON TO MIRÓ, LEXINGTON, JANUARY 26, 1790[15]

Lexington January 26th 1790

I wrote you the 11th of last Month, & sent you a Dictionary, to be employed as the Key to our Cypher instead of that I left with you, as I could not find one of the same edition: that letter & book were enclosed to Gayoso And committed to the charge of George Dunn, a nephew of the late Major[16] and the very person he accused of intimacy with his Wife; he is a profligate young man; but does have no notion of the trust I repose in Him I therefore hope you have long since received the Pacquet alluded to. As a safe conveyance will offer in a few days I now seat myself to detail some matters interesting to his Majesty's service. The general permission to export the products of this Country by the Mississippi has promoted all the consequences I apprehended by removing the great cause of discontent the Political agitation of the Country has subsided & At present not a word is uttered on the subject of a secession from the Congress, nor are the effects which this pernicious system has produced on the emigration to Louisiana less obvious: the Farmers & the Planters of these settlements who a year since had before them the dreadful prospect of their products perishing on their Hands for want of a market, are no longer alarmed by such appearance, but now find at New Orleans ready vent for all the products of their labour; this spread universal satisfaction throughout the Country, & the distance from Market added to the 15% duty is compensated by the salubrity of the Climate, & the luxuriant variety of its products: in this state of prosperity & content it would broill matters up indeed, if the People should wish to change country or condition: the Urge for emigration is substituted by a general spirit of adventure & Many Persons are now preparing cargoes for your Market, who under the pretense of settling will endeavour to elude the 15% & pave the way for future impositions at their request. I have given credentials to B. Tardiveau & Richard Anderson,[17] which will no doubt be handed to you: the paper in number 1 will explain to you Tardiveau's view, & you are to observe that I received his letter of the 24th December after I had sent him my letter of introduction to you, As to Richard Anderson I must confess I doubt his sincerity though he professed a determination to settle in Louisiana should he approve of the country; he has been an enemy of Spain, and a Friend of Congress; but he is a man of great avarice, and I believe his

[15]The original of this letter in cipher is in A. G. I., P. C., 2374, along with a deciphered version (photostats in the McClung Collection). The latter has been followed except where obvious mistakes called for corrections from the original cipher. In the index to the photostats in the McClung Collection the letter is incorrectly dated January 28.

[16]Major Isaac Dunn had been Wilkinson's bookkeeper, but had recently committed suicide because of family and financial troubles. See the *Kentucky Gazette*, June 27, 1789, and James Ripley Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior: Major-General James Wilkinson* (New York, 1938), 104.

[17]The person in question here was doubtless Barthelemi Tardiveau, a French merchant in Louisville. His brother and business associate, Pierre Tardiveau, was operating in Danville, Kentucky, in 1790. The two had come over to America to take part in the war against England and came to Kentucky about 1781. Barthelemi died in New Madrid, in what is now Missouri, in 1801. Pierre lived on until 1835. Howard C. Rice, *Barthelemi Tardiveau, A French Trader in the West* (Baltimore, 1938), and T. C. Cherry, "Robert Craddock and Peter Tardiveau," *Filson Club Historical Quarterly* (Louisville), IX, No. 2 (April, 1930), 78-90. Colonel Richard Anderson was a close friend of Wilkinson.

main intention is to look out for some commercial advantage, as he is now purchasing Tobacco for his voyage, You will find in number 1 a draft of a letter which I have calculated for these Gentlemen from you, Which may be applied to all such Characters, & will I flatter myself meet your approbation, for it is dangerous to admit such persons into the Province, unless as actual Settlers and therefore I humbly conceive this intercourse should be checked if there was no other reason: I will not dismiss this subject before I assure you of my indefatigable exertions to promote His Majesty's views, and although I have untold difficulties to encounter I flatter myself, I shall, if you rescind the present free intercourse, & confine it to those who may settle, be able to make a strong establishment at the Walnut Hills in the course of next autumn, in the interim Mr. Meaux[18] will go down to commence the settlement.

On my arrival here I discovered a great change in the conduct of some of those who have heretofore been our warm friends, Several who were loud in their condemnation of the connection with the Congress, are now silent; I ascribe this change either to the hope of promotion or the fear of punishment; agreeable to my prognostication Washington has commenced his operations on our leading characters; Innes[19] is appointed federal Judge with one thousand Dollars a year: George Nicholas[20] Attorney General, Samuel McDowell (a son of the President of the Convention)[21] Marshall, and Peyton Short Esqr. whose brother is Charge de Affaires at the Court of Versailles was appointed Collector of the Customs;[22] but he resigned, he will probably pay you a visit in the Spring; I am not strictly confidential with George Nicholas & Samuel McDowell, but I know Henry Innes to be the Friend of Spain, & the enemy of Congress, and I am authorized to say he would much rather receive a pension from New Orleans than New York should our arrangements on that point receive approbation of the King; great delicacy, caution & judgment will be necessary in the application, as political characters are generally unreliable & I fear but few of my countrymen can be depended on, if the [illegible] treasure cannot be given with advantage, it should not be given at all.

Colonel Morgan I understand is at his Seat in New Jersey where I expect he waits the results of Mr. Gardoqui's promises to Him, to do the Colonel justice I must inform you, that he is everlastingly the friend of Spain, & the advocate of our views, but I fear he will not be able from his private embarrassments to effect his settlement at *L'Ance á la Graise* as soon as he expects, like myself he is so much abused by the dependents of General Washington, & the partisans of the Congress: I find every exponent of the [illegible], every enemy of Spain, and every friend of Congress, to be my

[18]John Meaux, a planter of Mercer County, Kentucky. See his advertisement in *Kentucky Gazette*, January 22, 1791.

[19]Henry Innes (1752-1816) had been appointed district judge the previous year. See the sketch in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1928-1944), IX, 485-86.

[20]George Nicholas (1754-1799) had come to Kentucky to join his old friend Innes. Nicholas later became attorney general of the state of Kentucky in 1792. See the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 482-83.

[21]Samuel McDowell, Jr. The father presided over the so-called "Second Convention," which met in Danville, May 23, 1785.

[22]Peyton Short, of Lexington, was a business associate of Wilkinson. The two were soon to be on the brink of financial ruin, from which they were saved only by desperate efforts of Wilkinson. The chargé in France was William Short.

enemy, because I openly approve the former and publickly condemn the latter, & every trader down the Mississippi is my enemy, because they envy me the favour, & protection I enjoy from you; but you may rest in confidence that the universal abuse of the Congress cannot check the sacred attachment I hold to the Court of Spain, which I shall ever be ready to defend with my tongue, pen or sword.

The information conveyed to you in my last relative to McGillivray was erroneous: a Gentleman is with me who [conversed?] with the Commissioners of the Congress[23] since the Conference, & by them he was informed that McGillivray's first demand was a free Port on the Atlantic exempt from duty of any Kind the Commissioners have no power to take such a stipulation into consideration, [but] agreed to a truce until the Spring, & the Conference ended;[24] I think the demand made by McGillivray of an extraordinary nature, & although I am somewhat [at] a loss how to interpret his motives; it is very evident that he meditated an establishment independent of his Majesty: with [submission?] I conceive the subject of Indian affairs becomes daily more interesting to the [Court?], it is therefore my duty to give you my reflections on that head: I offer them with deference, and am prompted by the purest intentions.

The Savages inhabiting the East of the Mississippi, from long intercourse with Europeans, & their descendants have forgot how their forefathers lived & have been insensibly taught to Know, to feel, & to indulge wants, to which their ancestors were strangers. The Bow, the Sling & the Dart have been discarded for fire Arms, the pure fountain is abandoned for ardent Spirits, and their Skins and their Furrs, the Clothing provided by Nature, are bartered for the Fabrics of Europe, in sum they have bartered their primeval simplicity of Life for the most villifying and destructive habits, & from being as independent as the Air they Breathed have become absolutely dependent on some civilized power for necessaries.

This is the present relative situation of his Majesty and the powerful Nations of Creeks and Choctaws, I say nothing of the Chickasaws, because their numbers are inconsiderable, and so long as this connection is preserved these Nations will form a strong barrier against the Congress of the United States; this is certainly an object of magnitude, and therefore merits the most vigilant attention of Government, for if those Nations should throw off their dependence on the King they must immediately become subordinate to the Congress, & then in case of a rupture between the two powers (which sooner or later appears inevitable) it will require a great military force to repel the predatory attacks of those Nations, & protect the adjacent Province in that degree of Quiet & security, which is necessary to their population &

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[23]Benjamin Lincoln, Cyrus Griffin, and David Humphreys, a distinguished trio, whose appointment indicates clearly Washington's awareness of the importance of the Creek problem and his desire to impress McGillivray. Lincoln had been one of Washington's ablest generals, and was delegated to receive the sword of Cornwallis. Griffin was president of Congress in 1788, while Humphreys was fresh from service as secretary of the legation in Paris.

[24]The conference was held at Rock Landing in September, 1789. McGillivray's report to Panton, October 8, 1789 (printed in J. W. Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks* [Norman, Okla., 1938], 251-55), mentioned his insistence on the Georgia coast from the Altamaha to the St. Mary's River. Although he did not specifically mention a free port on the Atlantic, such was the implication, and it is certain that he had such a port in mind when scheming with William Augustus Bowles the previous year.

prosperity in our present situation, It is undoubtedly the interest of the King to have peace in these regions (I mean on the borders of Louisiana & the Floridas) this will give time to strengthen & improve the infant colony on the Mississippi, to deliberate upon and examine the most judicious plan of future defence, & to try the effect of our negotiation with the people of this Country; the important question then is how we are to preserve the Friendship of the Savages & at the same time avoid a break with the Congress, & the solution is indeed difficult. Should McGillivray renew hostilities, there is no doubt that the strength & address of Congress will be exerted either to conquer, or purchase him to their interest an alternative equally dangerous to Spain, for if War is the issue, she must be eventually involved, & if McGillivray should be alienated, all the consequences which I have before mentioned will follow: under these circumstances of difficulty if I may be allowed to give an opinion, it is that McGillivray should be narrowly watched, that you will bid more for him than Congress can give, & oblige him to make peace for a certain term of years, say five, six or seven; I think such a period of time might be most advantageously employed to diminish McGillivray's influence, & to secure the Savages by stronger & more certain ties, for this purpose agents should be settled in the towns of the different Nations, who by learning their language, & adopting their manners would soon gain their confidence, develop their secret polity, & by becoming members of their councils might divide, & destroy McGillivray's power. The most suitable agents for such offices would be native Spaniards, men of acuteness, courage & enterprize, & as the sacrifices they must make would be great, the honors and rewards should be proportionate: it was by such means first the French, and afterwards the English acquired their influence over these Savage Nations. The Creeks and Choctaws want nothing but organization & system to make them formidable to the Congress of the United States, and a permanent barrier to the Floridas, & Louisiana. I shall leave this subject with you convinced that your superior judgment will improve the hints I have dropped.[25]

The papers inclosed in No. 2[26] will give you some information respecting a purchase made by a Company of Gentlemen, from the State of Georgia, of a large Tract of Country bordering on the Mississippi. Cape is in my dependence as I have advanced him more than three thousand Dollars, Holder remains on my advice and protection. By the bye they were both blockheads. In turning this affair in my mind, I felt some uneasiness lest it should interfere with our Views, & after duly deliberating on the Subject, I determined to address Messrs. Moultrie, Huger & Snipes who are Men of Rank & Fortune, my Objects are to get the Agency of this Business, into my own Hands, & to induce the Company to apply to you for protection. If I succeed, I am persuaded we shall find no difficulty to annex their Settlement to his Majesty's dominions, which they will soon discover to their interest to support; I hope these arrangements will meet your approbation, something was necessary to be done, & there was not time for me to consult

[25]Miró not only listened to these hints but, without citing the source of his inspiration, passed them on to the captain general of Cuba, whence they traveled to the ministry in Spain. There the Conde de Floridablanca got them framed into royal orders and instructions for the guidance of Miró's successor, the Baron de Carondelet. By September of 1791 Carondelet was hard at work sending the agents or spies to reside in the Indian nations.

[26]Wilkinson to Moultrie, Huger, and Snipes, January 4, 1790, printed above.

you & receive your advice. I have therefore endeavoured to place the leader [lead?] of this enterprize into your hands which will give you the opportunity to modify the plan in such manner as your judgment may direct & the King's interest require. I shall give you regular information of every movement in this business & it will also be in your power either to prevent the Settlement, or by exciting the Choctaws to force the Settlers under your Government.

Paye Mingo was absent from the Chickasaw as I passed through & the General presumption there was that he has gone to South Carolina, or to War against the Creeks. I however find he has been to the Legislature of this State, and by telling them a number of flattering falsehoods, induced them to make him a present of a considerable quantity of powder, lead and other articles, with which he is now returning by the Tennessee to the Chickasaw, vowing everywhere vengeance against McGillivray.[27] The address of Washington, which you will find in number 3 refers to that Chief.[28] He will probably land his cargo at Margót River.[29] Cannot you acquaint McGillivray of this circumstance & have this troublesome fellow cut off? The example will have a good effect. You will find the proceedings of the late Convention of Kentucky in number [ ].[30] I have just received [word?] from the Legislature of the State that they have again passed a law on the subject of a separation, which they have again referred to a Convention, which is to be elected in May next, & to assemble in June. I shall attend strictly at that meeting & do every thing in my power to promote the interest of our cause;[31] in this I shall be warmly supported by our good friend Sebastian,[32] who is now my main auxiliary, for though Henry Innes is our friend, the office he holds makes it improper that he should appear openly. At present politics of every kind are dormant [and the] body [bulk] of the People encouraged by the commercial indulgence they enjoy on the Mississippi are actively engaged in cultivating the Earth & improving their Plantations. Under these circumstances it is impossible for me to bring forward the momentuous question I proposed on my arrival with any probability of success. I have the best authority to say that my connection with you is strongly suspected by the Congress, & they have spys on my movements in this country, consequently an open attempt actually to substrahend the Government before the majority of the People manifest a disposition to support me would endanger my personal safety and put it out of my power to render you any further

[27]On this point see Miró to McGillivray, April 7, 1790, printed below.

[28]The Virginia legislature's address to President Washington was printed in the *Kentucky Gazette*, January 16, 1790. It was this paper that Wilkinson probably enclosed in his number 3.

[29]Wolf River (site of Memphis).

[30]The number of the enclosure was omitted, but it probably contained the *Kentucky Gazette* for January 15, 1790.

[31]This "Ninth" convention actually opened in Danville on July 26, 1790, and accepted the terms of Virginia's "fourth" enabling act, which prepared the way for Kentucky to enter the Union on June 1, 1792. A "Tenth" convention assembled in April of that year to make the necessary adjustments.

[32]Benjamin Sebastian, one of the conspirators along with Wilkinson, Henry Innes, and George Nicholas, was the only one who actually suffered for his "treason" during his life time. Born in Virginia about 1745, he went to Kentucky around 1784, practiced law in Louisville and rose to be judge of Kentucky's appellate court in 1792. He conspired with the Spaniards, 1787 to 1790, and again after 1795, but was exposed in 1804 when the other conspiracies were being opened to the public gaze. He died in disgrace in 1834. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 543-44.

service in this country. The situation is painful to me, painful as Death, for while I abhor the least duplicity of character I find a degree of dissimulation absolutely necessary. This induces me most anxiously to long for the [welcome announcement?] with which you have flattered that I may publickly avow myself subject to the Catholick King & consequently be protected in every public and private measure I may essay to promote the interest of his Crown.

Long before you will receive this Letter Logan,[33] Colonel of Kentucky will no doubt have presented himself [secretly] to you. He is an illiterate man of illiberal manners and address and possesses great ambition, low craft and subtilty. I did not see him before he departed but know he was formerly a friend to our secession from Congress. Whether his sentiments are changed or not I cannot tell; but I must warn you to doubt his sincerity and to disbelieve him, when he professes an intention of settling under your government. I rather believe he wishes to speculate on your indulgence, and by fair promises obtain some commercial advantages for himself, and his particular friends; however as he has been favorable to the secession I would advise that you treat him with courtesy. The proper answer is in my opinion "Sir I must exact the fifteen per cent duty from you until you actually bring down your families and settle, but sir when you do that I give you my word that the duty which you now pay shall be returned to you. You will excuse this precaution. It is not personal, for I am obliged to take it in order to avoid the imposition which has been practiced on his Majesty's bounty."[34]

The Justice and the Policy of such a reply will [illegible] strike every man of reason and you have nothing to hope for or apprehend from any other Character. It is my duty to inform you that I do not hear of the [approach?] of any of those gentlemen who accompanied me down last Spring & obtained permission to settle in the District of Natchez.[35] I begin to fear that those gentlemen have deceived me, & do not mean to fulfill their engagements to you. I am exceedingly mortified & disgusted at such dishonorable practices, by Men whom I respected & shall be extremely cautious in future how or whom I recommend; I think it a matter of importance that you prevent all the traders who go down the River from returning by sea. This would discourage the commerce now carried on under pretence of making Settlements and would tend to restrain the importation of Merchandise from the eastern States to this country. Dorsey[36] who carried down a cargo last spring, and

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[33]Colonel Benjamin Logan, well-known Indian fighter, who was responsible in great part for the calling of the first of the series of ten conventions in 1784 looking to statehood for Kentucky. In 1790 Wilkinson thought him worth a Spanish pension of $800 a year.

[34]Wilkinson wrote in a similar strain to Gayoso on February 6, 1790: "Let me conjure you to be rigid in exacting the 15 p.c. duty [and] every other charge as it will have a happy effect. But we shall never be able to accomplish any thing very important on the subject of immigration until the present injudicious system is destroyed and the commercial privileges confined to settlers only." A photostat of this letter is in the Library of Congress, original in A. G. I., P. C., legajo 2374.

[35]Andrew Hare seems to have been one of them. See note 37, below. The notorious Philip Nolan came back with Wilkinson, but seems not to have accompanied him down the river.

[36]Dorseys were quite numerous in Kentucky even at that early date, but the probabilities are in favor of John Dorsey of Louisville as the one Wilkinson mentioned here.

left New Orleans in September—Hare[37] & several others have again arrived here from Philadelphia & Baltimore with Goods, which they are bartering for Tobacco & other produce to be again carried to your Market. It is a Matter of equal importance that you should take measures to continue the Safety on the Path from Natchez to this District, which will facilitate the Intercourse between this and that Country, and thereby promote our views, for nothing can be a more strong incitement to immigration than a comparative view of the circumstances & appearance of the planters of Natchez over those of this Country, and the vast length of the Journey will operate as an insuperable bar to any dangerous familiarity.

I have not heard from Doctor White since I arrived here, though I was informed as I passed Miro's District that he had made arrangements to settle there, & acquit himself agreeable to his engagements to you. Smith was absent with the Legislature. I therefore retained his letter. I saw Colonel Robertson and delivered your letter to him.[38] He is friendly to our policy but has no idea of leaving that District.

By the last reports they had applied to the Legislature of the State to which they appertain for a separation,[39] but the result is not yet here. I shall watch the issue and be ready to improve any advantage which may offer. Congress probably from motives of Jealousy have ordered their troops and stationed them opposite the mouth of Licking Creek[40] which is near central to the body of our Settlements. I shall go to Louisville in a few days to give this letter passage to you & shall have the honor to address you from that place. In the meantime let me conjure you to answer such part of this letter as requires your orders by the first safe opportunity, & be certain to write in cypher as you may be assure I am narrowly watched by the servants of General Washington.

Wilkinson

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[37]Andrew Hare of Lexington. He left his business in the hands of one Maurice Nagle on March 21, 1789, and resumed it on January 11, 1790, when he arrived from New Orleans via Philadelphia. *Kentucky Gazette*, January 16, 1790.

[38]See Miró to Robertson, September 16, 1789, *loc. cit.* Wilkinson also delivered Miró's letter of the previous day to General Daniel Smith. Both are printed in installment XIII of these "Papers." See note 9, above.

[39]In September of 1789 a convention in Nashville discussed the matter of independence, but ended by petitioning the North Carolina legislature to cede the area to Congress. A. P. Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier*, 1783-1795 (Boston, 1927), 115.

[40]Wilkinson's suspicion of and antipathy toward the national government caused him to invent a far-fetched interpretation of the movement of the troops to the site of present-day Cincinnati where they built Fort Washington in 1789. He modified his attitude in 1792, however, when he himself was commissioned in the regular army and stationed there.

WILKINSON TO MIRÓ, LOUISVILLE, FEBRUARY 1, 1790[41]

Louisville, Repids of Ohio,

February 1st. 1790

My Dear Friend:

I arrived here on Saturday last in order to find a conveyance for my letters of the 26th of last month and of Mr. John Reed[42] to whom I shall confide it. I have Seen Richard Anderson since my arrival here and find he is purchasing Tobacco at 3½ Dollars pr. 100 lbs to carry down with Him to New Orleans. He informed me he Should wait for your answer & that if you agreed to take his tobacco into the king's storehouse he should Sail about the 1st of April, I replied that I was fearful it would not be in your power to take it, as the province raised more than the quantity purchased for the use of the King. He answered if that was the case he should not go down at all. From these & other circumstances I am clearly of the Opinion he intends nothing more than a trading voyage, and permission to make observations for Washington to whom he is devoted. Richard Anderson is an agent of Daniel Clark[43] and if he goes down, I fear may receive some information from that [illegible] which may be employed merely personally and against our political Views. I therefore most earnestly wish you to prevent his going down and if you have sent Him permission by Logan to revoke it By express. On the [21 ?] st of last month Gov. Arthur St. Clair left this place with his [suite ?] and [an escort ?] of [10 ?] men in 3 batteaux destined for Kaskaskia. I have not yet been able to develop his view here,[44] but I apprehend it is principally to examine the state of that settlement. An expedition lately arrived here from the [war ?] office in New York, which appears to have occasioned Sundry [mysteries as ?] three days since a captain was sent up the River [illegible] while another captain went down the Ohio in a small boat with only 6 men all equipped for the work and it is whispered that in a few days Doughty who is now here with a batteau and crew is to depart with a view to ascend the Tennessee,[45] and that he is being attended by one Vigo[46] formerly of your City, but now a great trader among the Savages on these Waters. I am at present at a loss how to interpret those moves but I think Doughty's destination is to the Chickasaws and Choctaws. This makes it the

[41]A. G. I., P. C., 2374. Much of this letter is in cipher, not all of it legible.

[42]John Read (or Jon Rid, to use the Spanish phonetic spelling) went to New Orleans in charge of his own flatboat loaded with twenty hogsheads of tobacco, five barrels of salt, and three bundles of furs. He passed Natchez on April 19. Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, 1765-1794 (in three parts, printed as Vols. II, III, and IV of the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association, 1945 (Washington, 1949), Part II, 327.

[43]Daniel Clark, Sr., a merchant in New Orleans.

[44]St. Clair left Louisville some time before January 23, 1790, on which date he wrote from Fort Steuben to Major Hamtranck. In another letter from the same place he told Secretary of War Knox on January 26, 1790, that he would leave for Kaskaskia the next day. W. H. Smith (ed.), *The St. Clair Papers: the Life and Public Services of Arthur St. Clair*, 2 vols. (Cincinnati, 1882), II, 130-33.

[45]Major John Doughty's journey up the Tennessee is best described in his own report to Secretary of War Henry Knox, edited by Colton Storm and published under the title "Up the Tennessee in 1790: the Report of Major John Doughty to the Secretary of War," *Publications*, No. 17 (1945), 119-32.

[46]Joseph Maria Francisco Vigo. See Wilkinson to Miró, June 20, 1790, below, for further comments on the activities of this trader of Italian extraction.

more necessary that you should attend to McGillivray as the [illegible] at the [last conference ?] with the [commissioners ?] of the Congress at [illegible] in great [secrecy ?] at New York,[47] indeed I think you should endeavor to [place] confidential [chiefs ?] near his person. I shall watch the progress of these moves and give you regularly every information I collect which may interest his Majesty's service.

Inclosed you have a letter just received from a Gentleman of Rank & Fortune who I expect here every Hour on his way to Natchez.[48] Several other Gentlemen of Character & property will go down next Month who are I believe sincere in their intentions to Settle, these I shall mention to you in due time, and I am satisfied in opinion that if you retain the present commercial Intercourse & confine it [to] those who [are] settling, I shall be able to effect a prodigious emigration next Autumn, so soon as the ensuing Crop is secured—expecting to hear from you soon by Cypher [packet ?] I beg leave to Subscribe myself ever your devoted Friend & Servant

Wilkinson

in closing my Packet from Lexington I find I have omitted Riano's[49] Letter to you shall have it sent in my next.

WILKINSON TO MIRÓ, LOUISVILLE, FEBRUARY 5, 1790[50]

Louisville

February 5th, 1790

Since I wrote you on the 1st instant I have been labouring to discover Major Doughtys intention, and I have the strongest reason to think he will go to Cumberland to Nashville, and from there to the Chicasaws by land, this is opening a most dangerous communication, and it should be destroyed in the bud, cannot you immediately apprize McGillivray of this operation, and direct him to cut off Major Doughty.[51] This will disconcert the arrangements of Gen. Washington. Mr. Forman[52] arrived here two days since, and will be detained a week or two in providing provisions for his party, I shall

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[47]The commissioners met McGillivray at Rock Landing in September, 1789. The illegibility of the cipher at this point makes the reference to New York obscure.

[48]Probably Ezekiel Forman, mentioned in Wilkinson to Miró, February 5, 1790, below.

[49]Reference is made here to Juan Riaño, a naval officer who had been serving in Louisiana since before Spain entered the Revolution. The purpose of his visit to Kentucky at this time is not explained.

[50]A. G. I., P. C., 2374.

[51]This recommendation appears all the more heartless when it is recalled that Doughty had been a Revolutionary friend of Wilkinson's. Part of the Major's detachment was cut to pieces, but Doughty himself was not with it at the time. Compare with Wilkinson to Miró, April 29, 1790, A. G. I., P. C., 2374 (photostat in the McClung Collection).

[52]Wilkinson received numerous calls from individuals who wanted his recommendations to Spanish officials. To all he gave the introductions requested, knowing that Miró and his associates would be governed by secret information sent in separate letters. Forman was headed toward New Orleans with his thirteen children and sixty-five slaves. Other letters of introduction are Wilkinson to Miró on February 28, April 18, April 29, and December 17, 1790. That of April 29 appears below. All of them are found in A. G. I., P. C., 2374.

ommit sending you his first letter as you now have inclosed a list of his family and servants. Adieu, may the eternal powers bless you, and yours is the prayer of your friend—Wilkinson—General Miró.

[Translation]

CABELLO TO VALDÉS, HAVANA, FEBRUARY 26, 1790[53]

No. 4
Confidential

Most Excellent Sir.

On June 26 last I communicated to the Governor of Louisiana the very confidential Royal order of March 23 of last year, that Lieutenant-Colonel Don Manuel Gayoso de Lemos should make the journey projected to the States of Franklin and Cumberland; and now that Governor replies to me that it has not been done,[54] nor can it be done in the future for many reasons which he explains in his letter, of which I send Your Excellency a copy for His Majesty's information, and in order that you may advise me of his Sovereign Resolution. God keep Your Excellency many years, Havana February 26, 1790.

Most Excellent Sir.

Duplicate Domingo Cabello

His Excellency Señor Don Antonio Valdés.

WILKINSON TO GAYOSO, LEXINGTON, APRIL 3, 1790[55]

Lexington April 3rd 1790

P. Washington and Congress Watch the Operations of this Country with a secret[56] and jealous eye, they are now absolutely deliberating on the subject of war with McGillivray, Emissarys have been sent into this Country and Alligany and Cumberland to Solicit their cooperation Doughty has Ascend [ed] the Tennessee about four weeks ago with a Lieutenant and twenty men, in order to [illegible] the Alligany and Cumberd to a Conference & to fix on a place to establish a garrison; all these circumstances urge the necessity of McGys being on his guard an[d]looking well to that quarter; if He could cut off all those Emissaries and [the] Doughty Party[57] it would disconcert the view of Washington The general permission to carry produce from this Country to your Market, has defeated all our plans and cannot fail to frustrate them so long as it is continued. of the great number of adventurers who have gone & are going down the Mississippi this Season, I am warrent-[ed] to say that there are not ten men of character or reputation, and I am convinced that their are not five who have actually intention to become perma-

[53]A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17.

[54]See note 13 above.

[55]A. G. I., P. C., 2374. This letter was written in cipher, but Spanish clerks had written their version between the lines. Obvious mistakes have been corrected by the editors.

[56]The Spaniards skipped a page in their dictionary key and deciphered this to read "a purgative and jealous eye."

[57]Compare with Wilkinson to Miró, February 1, 1790, above.

nent Subjects to Spain, now or hereafter unless compeled thereto by the deprivation of all Commercial intercourse, they will take oath of any tenor, and will make temporary Settlements, but believe me their only object is an exemption from the 15 p Ct. duty. For heavens sake urge our Friend to prohibit the intercourse without delay, and suffer no American to leave that Province by sea, because that will open a direct correspondence with P. Washington who I [am satisfied ?] must have a spy in N[ew] O[rleans] take care of D. Clarck.

Wilkinson

The Cypher on which this Letter is founded, was sent by Dunn & Job Ruth[58] —you must supply the termination of the Verbs & the number of the Nouns
[On the margin is this note:]
my own boat will sail in 15 days, when you may expect a volume from me

WILKINSON TO HARMAR, APRIL 7, 1790[59]

Lexington April 7th 1790

Dear General

I write to you at the public request[60] on a Subject deeply interesting to Kentucky & to humanity, for more than one month past a party of savages have occupied the North Western Bank of the Ohio, a few miles above the Mouth of the Scioto, from whence they carry attacks against every Boat which passes, to the destruction of much property, the cost of many Lives, & the great annoyance of all Intercourse from the Northward - by very recent information we are apprized that they still continue in force at that point, & that their last attack was made on five Boats one of which was captured - It is the general, I conceive a well founded, opinion that if this Party is not dislodged & dispersed, the navigation of the Ohio must cease - in a case so very critical, the people of this District conceive themselves justified in appealing to Arms because their dearest Interests & the lives of their Brethren are put to hazard—

But being unwilling to proceed except in a regular, legal & authorized way, *they now call upon you for assistance,* in the firm expectation that you may think proper to cooperate with a Body of the Troops under your Command and carry an immediate expedition against the before mentioned party of Savages from Limestone where it is proposed to Rendezvous a Body of

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[58]Dunn and Ruth had taken down a new dictionary to be used as a code. Job Ruth (or Routh) went in charge of one of Wilkinson's three boats, the other two being under Samuel South and a Van Swearingen. They were reported at Natchez on April 14 by the commandant, Carlos Gran-Pre. Kinnaird, *Spain in the Mississippi Valley,* Part II, 323-24.

[59]Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 2.

[60]Jacobs, *Tarnished Warrior,* 110-11, takes the view that Wilkinson wrote to Harmar with the purpose of securing military service against the Indians and so bolster his stock with the Spaniards, but the service must be against the northern Indians and not against Spain's allies to the south.

Volunteer Militia - The Bearer Col. Patterson[61] waits upon you this occasion to know your determination & to make such arrangements as may be deemed expedient.-

I am D General

Your old Friend & fellow Soldier

James Wilkinson

The Honble Brig. General Harmer

MIRÓ TO McGILLIVRAY, NEW ORLEANS, APRIL 7, 1790[62]

New Orleans, April 7th 1790

Sir

It is with the greatest pleasure that I inform you that the Capitain General having condescended with my proposal aproves of granting you the extraordinary present of 90 prs [Shous?], 20 Doz Shirts and 20 prs Duffles that you requested on account to gratify the Chiefs & Warriors that accompanied you to the meeting of the American Commissaries. I take advantage of the first opportunity that offers to give you this inteligence, & though it's out of my power to send you the present now, it shall follow immediately, in so much that without loosing time you may send to Pansacola the person that you may think proper to receive it, asured that it will be done by the time.

As much as I have always relied on your attachment for the interest of our King I have likewise made it my business to advise you, what would be most usefull for your wellfare. I shall never be tired of repeating the same over again. You know that it is out of the power of any one to promise you the advantages you & your Nation enjoys from us; you have now goods at as good a rate as in the time of the English; you have besides the most distinguished esteem from our Government who through principles wishes the perfect happiness of its neighbours—indeed I see with pleasure that you are persuaded of this truth & that your proceedings answer perfectly my expectations & have no manner of doubt of the same in the future. Transact your business with the United States so as to be at peace with them,[63] but no other connexion; the least would give umbrage to our present good inteligence & at last would prove fatal to your self; from our inalterable friendship you can expect all that is good, & from the United States nothing but what can turn to their advantage & your personal destruction. As a proof of this I am very hapy to acquaint you. that you may be aware of it, that just now I have been informed that Piyo Mingo the Chicasaw Warrior who without the consent, & authority of his Nation made a treaty with the American Commissioners at Hopewel in the year 1786[64] has been to the Legislature of Virginia

[61]Colonel Robert Patterson was sheriff in Lexington at the time.

[62]A. G. I., P. C., 203.

[63]This letter, along with other injunctions to make peace with the Americans, was to be used effectively later by McGillivray when the Spaniards began to criticise him for signing the Treaty of New York on August 9, 1790.

[64]Treaties with the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws were signed at Andrew Pickens' home at Hopewell in November, 1785, and January, 1786. Pickens, Benjamin Hawkins, and Joseph Martin were the commissioners. McGillivray prevented all but two Creek chiefs' attending. *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1832-1834), I, 37-41, 49-50. See also Caughey, *McGillivray of the Creeks*, 22-28n, 95-102.

& through false reports & impositions has obtained a quantity of powder led & other articles with which he intends to make you war;[65] I am told he is to return by the Tenessee in to the Chicasaw & that he will probably land at Mary's River.

I am with the greatest esteem

Sir Your most obedient Servant
[unsigned]

P.D. Octhaiyé Mekó Chief of Alibamons told me this very morning that Americans have destroyed a party of Acfacheke, & Tehité towns killed four Chaouanons [Shawnees?] & that the Nephew of Red Shoes of Conchaty has been also murdered by the same Americans. I Wish to know if it is true, or not, & should be very sorry if it is as Octhiayé sais -
Alexander McGillivray

[Translation]

FAVRE TO FOLCH, CHOCTAWS, APRIL 12, 1790[66]

Sir

I have had the honor of receiving your letter And I sent immediately, for the Second time to search for the Horse of which you spoke to Me which I have sent.

Four days ago there left here a mestizo from the Chies who told me that he saw twenty Americans[67] who brought Munitions to a Chief of the Chickasaws named Pamuinaux (Piomingo?). But that beyond the Cherokee river they had been attacked by the Chawarnons (Shawnees?), talapuches and Cherokees and fourteen of the Americans were killed, but they could not take the wagon.

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[65]On October 28, 1789, the Virginia legislature sent an address to President Washington explaining its relations to Piomingo. Wilkinson enclosed it from the *Kentucky Gazette* of January 16, 1790, in his letter to Miró of January 28 of that year (printed above). Article V was as follows:

"The Chiefs of the Chickasaw Nation (Paye Mingo) have solicited from the General Assembly a Subsidy of Munitions; the lateness of the season in this year, and their desire to return to their Country because of the danger threatening their Nation, which is daily expected to commence hostilities with the Talapuches or Creeks, has led them to decide to stop here without going to New York their first destination.

"The resolution which we have the honor to enclose to Your Excellency will be executed in their favor, and we are confident that our conduct, because of the peculiar circumstances of the case, will meet with Your Excellency's approbation and with that of the Congress of the United States, and that being approved, we will be repayed what we have spent on this matter."

[66]A. G. I., P. C., 203. Simon Favre was a trader in the Choctaw nation on whom the Spaniards relied heavily for information until Juan de la Villebeuvre was sent there as agent in 1791. Vicente Folch y Juan, nephew of Governor Miró, was commandant at Mobile from 1781 to 1795 and governor at Pensacola from 1795 to 1811.

[67]This subsidy to the pro-American Piomingo seems to have come from the state of Virginia, but with Washington's approval.

I have had News of a Negro and Negress ready to give birth and a child belonging to Mr. Minarre,[68] I have gotten all the information possible, but according to what I hear it is impossible to take them without destroying the Negro because he is on an island and never lays down his rifle, guarding it so well that he never permits any person to approach. I await your reply and conclude

Sir
Your very humble
obedient Servant
Favre

In the Choctaws April 12, 1790

[Translation]

OUGOULAYACABE TO JUZAN, 1790[69]

A Talk which Ougoulayacabe, the Great Chief of the Chickasaws has sent to Mr. de Juzan, by Louis Catin, a Free Mulatto, a Trader in the Choctaws, in order that he may repeat it to the Commandant at Mobile;—
First, he left his village, with Five hundred of the Warriors, to go to Cumberland, where he was very well received by the Americans, who told him that they have no other desire than to embrace the Chickasaws and Choctaws, and have a Peace Talk among the Three Nations: the Americans Demanded of him that he tell them what Talk the Spaniards gave him; whether he promised them [the Spaniards] to take part in any enterprise againt them [the Americans], to which he Replied no; they told him, that they Knew that the Spaniards are furnishing the Talapuches with Powder, Balls and guns, to kill them, and that That is not Right: and that their Great chief ordered them to remain quiet, but that as soon as he permits them to Act they will fly as quickly as the Clouds, to go to fight against the Spaniards, to which he Replied that he sees the two Nations Fighting, and Murdering each other, and that he will watch them do it tranquilly; the Americans asked him, if he would give them a Small Piece of Land at a point on the Cherokee River, to put their Merchandise on, He refused them, saying that if he gives them an inch they will take four. This Occasioned some Altercation, which he finally Settled, because the Americans asked him, if he had not given some land to the Spaniards. He replied no: (Speaking to Mr. Juzan) you will say to the Spanish chief, that I have wanted to go to See him, but that fatigue has hindered me; that I have been at the home of Turnbull,[70] to get Taffy and to buy some Horses in order to go and see him some Day, and that I will never turn away from his Talk, nor his Hand; you will also tell the Chief, that

[68]Louis and Pierre Menard were fur traders on the Mississippi, whose activities ranged from the Chickasaw nation up to Kaskaskia. Louis lived much of the time at St. Genevieve and Pierre in New Madrid. The fugitive slaves mentioned here probably belonged to one of these men whose surname appears in contemporary papers in various forms. See Louis Houck, *The Spanish Regime in Missouri*, 2 vols. (Chicago, 1909), I, 335, 339, and II, 378, 384.

[69]A. G. I., P. C., 203. P. Juzan (Jusan or Jusant) was Spanish commissioner to the Choctaws. Ougoulayacabe (Wolf's Friend) was an important Chickasaw chief whom the Spaniards used to counterbalance Piomingo.

[70]John Turnbull and John Joyce had been in charge of Mather and Strother's store in Mobile until Panton took over in 1788. In 1790 the two were trading on

I have [removed] Casse Tasqueatoqua, King of the Chies, because he is not a man of his Word, who should not Be Heeded, and in his place has been named the brother of the King, even though he may be more of a Villian than King Casse, but he is a man of his word, and is peaceful. And you shall also tell him that if he so desires I will Send him Piomingo, who has Never given his Hand to the Spaniards, that I have only to Open my Mouth, and he will Obey, because he Is one of my Warriors, who will immediately go to see the great Spanish Chief: Concerning the present, that the Americans have given me, it is almost the same that the Spaniards gave except a Superb suit of clothes that I have Received but that as I do not want to Wear it, I have given it to my son, and that I myself have kept what my Father gave me, I have Had Twelve Cart-loads of Merchandise, and Groceries in profusion; that that is All in which the Americans have Surpassed the Spaniards;—

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their own among the Choctaws with Spanish permission, much to Panton's disgust. Illegal horse trading (and apparently horse stealing) was soon to get the Spaniards down on them.

AN OLD BOOK OF STOCK MARKS AND BRANDS OF KNOX COUNTY, TENNESSEE

Edited by Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, Sr.

This record book of the stock marks of cattle and other stock and the brands of horses, including also the records of authorizations given for the building of public grist mills, is now in the Old Records Room of the Knox County courthouse, Knoxville, Tennessee. It is of interest in that it constitutes a partial census of a particular class of early inhabitants of the county. It also calls attention to the practice, customary in the earlier days when stock were allowed to run loose, of recording in the county courthouse the marks and brands the owners placed upon their stock to distinguish them from the property of others. The types of markings used are interesting and may be compared with those used in other parts of the country at a later date. All of the marks recorded in Knox County except two were prior to 1818, but those two exceptions were recorded in 1862 and 1874. The editor has in her possession genealogical data concerning many of the persons mentioned in the document printed below.

Knox County, July Sessions 1792.

William Henry,[1] hath liberty to build a Publick Grist Mill on his own land, on Roseberry's Creek.

Patrick Slatery hath liberty to build a public Grist Mill, on his own land, on Stock Creek.

William Stockton, hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop and Split in Each Ear.

Robert McTeer, hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is one hole in each ear and a split in the under part of the left ear.

Thomas McCullock [McCulloch],[2] hath liberty to build a Public Grist Mill, on his own land on Pistol Creek.

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[1]A Revolutionary War soldier and one of the first settlers of the Skaggston community. Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1946), 351-52. Hereafter cited as *French Broad-Holston*. He later moved to Sevier County.

[2]One of the first justices of the peace of Knox County, 1792, and of Blount County, 1795. Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV, *The Southwest Territory* (Washington, 1936), 449, 469. Hereafter cited as *Territorial Papers*.

Charles McClung,[3] hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the left Ear, and a Slit in the Right Ear. And hath Liberty to Build a Public Mill on his own land on Big Sinking Creek.

James White,[4] hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a half Crop off the Under side of the left Ear and a Split in the right Ear.

Thomas Gillespie,[5] hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the Left Ear, and a half Crop off the Under Side of the Right Ear.

George McNutt,[6] hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the Right Ear, and a Swallow Fork in the Left Ear.

John Adair,[7] hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Swallow fork in the Left Ear, and upper Keill[8] in the Right Ear.

Thomas McCullock, hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop and Split in the Left Ear, and an under Keill in the Right Ear.

William Meek,[9] hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is two under half Crops, Viz: One in each Ear.

David Walker, hath Liberty to Record his Mark and Brand which are a Crop off the Left Ear and two Splits in the Right Ear. Brand—Thus, W on the nigh Shoulder.

John Hackett,[10] hath Liberty to Record his Mark and Brand—which are a crop and Split in the Left Ear, and a Crop off the under part of the Right Ear, Brands—thus—H, on the nigh thigh and under the mane on the off side.

Archibald Rhea,[11] hath liberty to Record his Mark and Brand, which are a Crop and Split in the Left Ear and a Swallow fork in the Right Ear—Brand thus A, on the nigh Shoulder and R, on the nigh Buttock.

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[3]Surveyor and merchant of Knoxville, first clerk of Knox County, boundary commissioner, and member of the constitutional convention of 1796. *Ibid.*, 62, 213, 326, 448, 449, 469. Formerly a second lieutenant in the Knox County cavalry, 1795, he was commissioned a first major in the cavalry regiment of Hamilton District, 1796. Mrs. John Trotwood Moore (comp.), "Record of Commissions of Officers in the Tennessee Militia, 1796-1801," *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Nashville), I (1942), 277. His will is in Estate Book, No. 4 (Knox County courthouse). See also sketch in *French Broad-Holston*, 446-47.

[4]Founder of Knoxville; sketch in *ibid.*, 503-04.

[5]Captain, Knox County militia, 1792. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 449.

[6]One of the first justices of the peace of Knox County. *Ibid.*, 449; sketch in *French Broad-Holston*, 451-52.

[7]Justice of the peace in Hawkins County, 1790, and in Knox County, 1792, and member of the constitutional convention of 1796. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 437, 415, 449; sketch in *French Broad-Holston*, 363-64.

[8]Keel, a red ocher used in marking lumber, sheep, cattle, etc.

[9]Constable in Hawkins County, 1790 (which then included Knox). *Territorial Papers*, IV, 443.

[10]Justice of the peace, Knox County, 1792. *Ibid.*, 449. Also first coroner of the Southwest Territory. Original papers in possession of the editor.

[11]Lieutenant, Knox County, 1792. *Ibid.*, 449; elder of the Lebanon Presbyterian Church (first in Knox County). *French Broad-Holston*, 484.

John Crawford,[12] hath Liberty to Record his Mark and Brand, which are, An Under Keill off each Ear, and a split in the Right Ear. Brand thus—cJ

William Standefer,[13] hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Swallow-fork and under Bit in each Ear.

January Sessions 1793

John and Simeon Adamson, have liberty to build a publick Grist Mill on their land on the Waters of Lyon's Creek.

Johnston Kinza, hath liberty to Record his Mark Which is a Crop and under Keill in each Ear.

Robert Blackburn, hath Liberty to have his Mark Recorded which is a Crop off the Right ear, and a halfpenny out of the upperside of the left Ear—

May Sessions 1793.

Constant Claxton, hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off each Ear, and a split and under Keill in the Right Ear.

Nicholas T. Perkins,[14] hath liberty to Build a Publick Grist and Saw Mill on his land on Flat Creek.

Levi Hinds[15] hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the left Ear, and a nick in the under side of the same—

Adam Meek, hath Liberty to build a Publick Grist and Saw Mill on his own land on Flat Creek.

Robert McTeer, hath liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Little Ellejoy.

Joseph Hinds, hath Liberty to Record his Mark which is a Crop off the left Ear, and a half Crop off the under side of the Right Ear.

Luke Lea,[16] hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop and a Split in the left Ear, and a Crop off the Right Ear.

August Sessions 1793.

Joseph Baker, hath liberty to build a public Mill on his own land on Boyd's Creek.

November Sessions 1793.

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[12]Revolutionary soldier; captain, Knox County, 1792, member of constitutional convention, 1796. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 415-49; major, Knox County, 1796. Moore (comp.), "Commissions," *loc. cit.*, 276.

[13]Lieutenant, Hawkins County, 1790. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 437.

[14]Ensign, Hawkins County, 1791. *Ibid.*, 445.

[15]Probable early settler of Hinds Valley; a Levi "Hines" was commissioned captain in Knox County, 1801. Moore (comp.), "Commissions," *loc. cit.*, 277.

[16]Justice of the peace, Knox County, 1792. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 449. See also *French Broad-Holston*, 438-39.

Nicholas Bartlett, has liberty to keep a public Mill on his own Land on Stock Creek.

Robert Boyd,[17] hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off each Ear, and a Split on the Right Ear.

February Sessions 1794.

John Williams, hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the Left Ear and a Split on the Right Ear.

James Thompson, hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the Right Ear, and two Splits in the Crop.

William Lea,[18] hath liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Beaver Dam Creek.

Solomon McCampbell, hath liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Gallaher's Creek.

James Blair,[19] hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a swallow fork in the Right Ear.

Warner Martin, the Mill built by him on Neal's Creek, to be a publick mill.

February Sessions 1794.

James Gibson, hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Swallow fork in the left Ear, and a half Crop in the Right Ear.

May Sessions 1794.

James Millar,[20] hath Liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Fourth Creek.

August Sessions 1794.

William Roberts hath Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the left Ear and half-penny or bit off the upper side of the Right Ear. Brand, Thus—"R.

Nicholas T. Perkins hath liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off the left Ear and Over Keil in the right Ear.

Freel Edward, hath liberty to record his Mark, which is a Crop, off the right Ear and under slope in the left.

October Sessions 1794

William Lea, hath liberty to record his Mark, which is a Crop off each Ear and a split in the right.

January Sessions 1795.

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[17]Ensign, 1792, lieutenant, 1794, Knox County, and ensign, Blount County, 1795. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 450, 459, 469.

[18]Captain, Hawkins County, 1790. *Ibid.*, 437.

[19]Justice of the peace, Hawkins County, 1790. *Ibid.*, 437.

[20]Purchased lot in Knoxville lottery, 1791. *Knoxville Gazette*, December 17, 1791.

James Scott[21] hath liberty to Record his Mark which is a Crop off the left Ear and Swallow fork off the right Ear.

William Gillespie hath liberty to Record his Mark which is a Crop off the right ear, and a split, in the left ear.

James Gillespie,[22] hath liberty to record his Mark which is an under bit out of the left Ear and a hole in the same and a split in the right Ear.

Joseph Lea,[23] hath liberty to record his Mark, which is a slit in the right Ear and swallowfork in the left ear.

Jacob Vanhooser, hath liberty to record his Mark, which is a Crop off the left Ear and a hole in the right ear.

April Sessions 1795.

Ordered that the Mill built by Patrick Sharkey, on Fourth Creek, be considered a public Mill.

Ordered that the Mill built by William Hines, be considered a Public Mill.
July Sessions 1795.

The Mark of Major Lea[24] is a Crop and slit in each ear.

The Mark of Henry Roberts[25] is a Crop and slit in the left Ear, and half penny or bit out of the upper side of the right Ear.

The Mark of Jessee Bounds is a smooth Crop off the left ear.

The Mark and Brand of Nicholas Gibbs[26] are, Mark half Crop off the Right Ear and Split and Under bit out of the under part of the left Ear. Brand, N.G.

January 1796.

The Mark and Brand of Harwood Jones, are, Mark, a Crop off each ear, and a nick in the Underside of each. Brand H J.

Ordered that John Humbard have Liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on the Limestone fork of Tuckahoe Creek.

Ordered that JOHN Ferrel have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on the West Fork of Flat Creek.

January Sessions 1796.

The Mark of William Robertson is a Crop and Slit in the left Ear and Swallow Fork in the right.

April Sessions 1796.

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[21]Lieutenant, Knox County, 1792, and justice of the peace and ensign, Blount County, 1795. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 449, 469.

[22]Proprietor of an iron works on Bull Run, 1825. *French Broad-Holston*, 87.

[23]Lieutenant, Knox County, 1799. Moore (comp.), "Commissions," *loc. cit.*, 277.

[24]Father of Pryor Lea, congressman. *French Broad-Holston*, 439.

[25]Cornet of cavalry, Hamilton District, Southwest Territory, 1795. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 469.

[26]Justice of the peace, Knox County, 1795. *Ibid.*, 468.

The Mark of David Adair is an under half Crop in each Ear.

Ordered that Drury W. Breazeale,[27] have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Second Creek.

July Sessions 1796.

Ordered that James McNare have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land.

Ordered that the Mill built by Samuel Holmes, first on his own land on Little Sinking Creek, be considered a public Mill.

Ordered that Aquilla Low[28] have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Beaver Dam Creek.

October Sessions 1796.

The Mark of James Montgomery[29] is A Crop in the left Ear.

Ordered that Christian Rhodes have liberty to build a public Mill on his own land on the west fork of Third Creek.

January Sessions 1797.

Ordered that Garrett Willingham have liberty to have his Mark recorded, which is a swallow fork and under keel in the right Ear and a Crop off the left Ear.

Ordered that Charles McClung have liberty to build a public Mill on his own land on Sinking Creek.

Ordered that John McClelan[30] have liberty to build a public Mill on his own land on Turkey Creek.

Alexander McMullin hath liberty to record his Mark which is a Crop off the left Ear and a Slit in the Right Ear.

James King's[31] Mark is a Crop and slit in the right Ear and a hole in the left.

April Sessions 1797.

Ordered that Samuel Hinds have liberty to build a public Mill, on his own land on the lower Sinking Branch of Beaver Creek.

Ordered that Joseph Carter, have liberty to build a Grist Mill, on his own land on the West Fork of Third Creek.

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[27]A "Jury Wood" Brezeale was standard keeper in Knox County, 1795. *French Broad-Holston*, 65.

[28]An Aquila Low is mentioned as a prominent Baptist layman in *ibid.*, 284, and commissioned captain, Knox County, 1801. Moore (comp.), "Commissions," *loc. cit.*, 277.

[29]Associated with John Chisholm in starting a tavern, 1792. *French Broad-Holston*, 397.

[30]Justice of the peace, Knox County, 1795, captain, cavalry, Hamilton District, 1795. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 464, 470.

[31]Purchased David Henley's lot and buildings, 1817. *French Broad-Holston*, 427.

Ordered that William Murphy have liberty to build a public Mill, on his own land on Blases [?] Branch of Bull Run.

Ordered that John Elders have liberty to record his Mark, which is two smooth Crops and two under bits.

October Term 1797.

John McNeills Mark, a Crop off the right Ear and a half Crop off the upper side off the left Ear.

Nathaniel Peters, Mark A Crop and over bit and under bit off each Ear.
July Term 1798.

Ordered that George Roulstone[32] have liberty to build and keep up a Mill on his own land in Knox County on a Fork of Tuckahoe Creek.

January Term 1799.

Ordered that Thomas Steel have liberty to build a public Mill.
April Term 1799.

Ordered that John Sevier[33] have liberty to build a Water Grist Mill, on his own land on Flat Creek.

July Sessions 1799.

Ordered that Moses Winters have Liberty to build a public Grist Mill where the Indian Fork of Poplar Creek breaks through Wallin's [Walden's] Ridge.

Ordered that the Mill built by Charles Scaggs be considered as a Public Mill It is on the East Fork of Bull Run.

January Sessions 1800.

Ordered that John Sevier have liberty to build a public Water Grist Mill on his own land on the South Side of Holston.

Ordered that Benjamin Manifold[34] have liberty to build a public Water Grist Mill and Saw Mill on his own land.

April Sessions 1800

Ordered that Thomas Kincaid, have liberty to build a public Water Grist Mill on his own land on the North Side of Clinch River.

July Sessions 1800.

On Petition of William White,[35] Ordered that he have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on the East Fork of Poplar Creek below the mouth of Crawford's Spring Branch.

October Sessions 1800

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[32]First editor in Tennessee. See article by S. C. Williams in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications* (Knoxville), No. 17 (1945), 51-60.

[33]First governor of Tennessee; sketch in *French Broad-Holston*, 485-86.

[34]Kimberlin Heights was once known as Manifold's Station. *Ibid.*, 353.

[35]Captain, Greene County, 1790. *Territorial Papers*, IV, 436.

Benjamin Prides[36] Ear Mark is a Crop off the left Ear and a Slit in the right ear.

January Sessions 1801.

On petition of John Ingram, ordered that he have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Roseberry's Creek.

April Sessions 1801.

James Woods, Mark is two Swallow forks and two under bits which is ordered to be recorded.

Daniel Woods, Mark is a Swallow fork in the Right Ear, and a Crop and under bit in the left, which is ordered to be recorded.

Reuben McDonald's Mark is a Crop and under Keill in each Ear which is ordered to be recorded.

Ordered that William Matlock, have liberty to build a Water Grist Mill on his own land on Cove Creek.

Samuel G. Ramsey's[37] Mark, is a Crop off the left Ear and under Bit in the right Ear, which is ordered to be recorded.

April Sessions 1801.

Moses Looney's Mark is a Crop off the left Ear and a Slit and under Bit in the right Ear.

January Sessions 1802.

John Smith's Mark, a Crop off the left Ear and an Under Keill in each ear.
Stephen Clayton's, Mark, a swallow fork and under Keill in each Ear.

Benjamin Wheeler's, Mark, a Crop off the left Ear, His Horses, Branded B W on the near shoulder.

Samuel Frazier's, Mark, a Swallow fork in the left Ear and a half penny in the under side of the right Ear.

April Session 1802.

Ordered that John Hubbs have his Mark recorded, which is a Crop off the left Ear, and an Under Bit out of the Right Ear.

On Motion of John Millar, it is ordered that he have liberty to record his Mark, which is Crop and Slit in the Right Ear and a half Crop in the Left, on the Upper side.

January Sessions 1803.

On Petition of Joseph Rodgers and Sundrie Citizens of this County It is ordered that the Mill Built by the said Joseph Rodgers on his own land on Big Sinking Creek be a public Mill.

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[36]A Benjamin Pride was commissioned ensign in Knox County, 1796. Moore (comp.), "Commissions," *loc. cit.*, 278.

[37]Presbyterian preacher, uncle of the historian, and founder of Ebenezer Academy; sketch in *French Broad-Holston*, 472-73.

January Sessions 1804.

On motion ordered that John Gibbs[38] have his Mark recorded, which is a half Crop off the left Ear, and under Bitt in the Right Ear.

On Motion Ordered that Jacob Yoakham, have his Mark recorded which is a Crop and under Bitt in the right ear and a slit in the left.

On Motion of Stephen Doyl it is ordered that he have his Mark recorded which is a Crop off each Ear, and an under Bitt out of the right ear.

On Motion, Ordered that Jesse Clayton, have his Mark, Recorded, which is a Crop and an under Keill in each Ear.

April Sessions 1804.

On Motion of Isaac Jones, It is ordered that he have his Mark, recorded which is a Crop and Slit in the right Ear, and a Slit in the left.

October Sessions 1804.

On the Petition of Abednego Castell, It is ordered that he have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land in the settlement of Stock Creek.

January Sessions 1805.

On Motion of Absalom Rutherford, It is ordered that he have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on Flat Creek.

April Sessions 1805.

On Motion of John Hinds Senr., It is ordered that he have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his own land on the lower Sinking Branch of Beaver Creek.

January Sessions 1806.

On Motion of Willoughby Robertson, It is ordered that he have Liberty to Record his Mark, which is a Crop off each Ear and under Bit out of the right Ear.

April Sessions 1806.

On Motion of Francis Hamilton,[39] It is ordered that he have liberty to record his Mark, which is an over Keill in the right Ear and under Keill in the left.

July Sessions 1809.

On Motion of John Williams,[40] Ordered that the Mark of his Stock, be recorded to Wit: A Crop and Slit in the left Ear, and a Slit in the right Ear.

On Motion of John Karns, Ordered that his Mark be recorded towit: A Swallow fork in each Ear.

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[38]Lieutenant, Knox County, 1796. Moore (comp.), "Commissions," *loc. cit.*, 276; grandfather of William Gibbs McAdoo. *French Broad-Holston*, 443.

[39]Clerk of Holston Baptist Association, 1802. *Ibid.*, 283.

[40]United States senator; sketch in *ibid.*, 505-06.

July Sessions 1813.

On the Petition of Benjamin Hall, Ordered that he have liberty to build a public Grist Mill on his land in this County.

January Sessions, 1814.

Ordered that .....? Craighead's Mill, be hereafter a public Mill.

On the Motion of Jeremiah King,[41] ordered that his Mark be Recorded towit: A Smoothe Crop off the left Ear and a Crop off, and Slit in the right Ear.

April Sessions 1816.

On the Motion of Henry Lonas, Ordered that his Mark, be recorded, To

Wit: A Smoothe Crop off the right Ear.

July Sessions 1817.

On Motion of Robert Tunnel,[42] ordered that his Mark be recorded, Which is a Slit in the right Ear and under bit in the left.

July 24th 1862. Dr. C. W. Crozier, this day presented his Mark, and requested that the same be entered of Record, which is a Slit in the Left Ear. William Craig, Clerk.

November 20th 1874.

M.S.L. Mynatt, Presents this his Stock Mark, for record, underbit, in the left Ear. I.F.I. Lewis, Clerk of the County Court.

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[41]Trustee of White's Chapel, Methodist, 1816. *Ibid.*, 289.

[42]Prominent Baptist layman. *Ibid.*, 284-85.

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1896 AS REFLECTED IN THE CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES McCLUNG McGHEE

Edited by Stanley J. Folmsbee and Marguerite B. Hamer*

Colonel Charles McClung McGhee as a wealthy and prominent industrialist was vitally interested in the heated McKinley-Bryan campaign of 1896. A small segment of the extensive McGhee Papers reflecting this interest is published here.

The use of these hitherto unpublished letters was made possible through the courtesy of Colonel McGhee's daughter, the late Mrs. Lawrence D. Tyson, to Professor Marguerite B. Hamer and her secretary, Miss Nettie Rollins (now Mrs. Logan), who in 1932 or 1933 were generously granted the privilege of working in the McGhee study in the Tyson home in Knoxville copying masses of manuscript materials. Mrs. Tyson, imbued with justifiable admiration for a notable parent, frequently gave encouragement and inspiration. The originals of the letters are now in the possession of Mrs. Tyson's daughter, Mrs. Kenneth Gilpin of Boyce, Virginia. The group of letters printed below was submitted to Mrs. Gilpin for her comments, and the editors greatly appreciate her interest in their publication.

Charles McClung McGhee (1828-1907) was born in Monroe County, Tennessee, on the plantation of his father, John McGhee, from whom he later inherited a large estate. At the beginning of the Civil War he moved to Knoxville, and during that conflict he served as staff officer and colonel in the Commissary Department of the Confederate army. He became identified with railroad interests in East Tennessee, particularly with the Knoxville and Ohio and the East Tennessee, Virginia and Georgia railroads. He played an important part in the consolidation of these and other lines into the Southern Railway system. At the time these letters were written he had been living for nearly a decade in New York City. He was serving as receiver of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad Company but retained also his interest in several other railroad lines, and numerous other business enterprises in Knoxville and elsewhere, including a cattle business in the West.

Like many other wealthy industrialists of his time he was deeply interested in philanthropy, his most outstanding contribution being the establishment of the Lawson McGhee Library in Knoxville in memory of his daughter, May Lawson McGhee Williams. He also served his alma mater,

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*The two editors collaborated in the preparation of the introduction and the first-named provided the general editing and supplied many of the identifications in the footnotes.

the University of Tennessee (then known as East Tennessee University), for a number of years as trustee and secretary and treasurer.[1]

Although he had once served for one term, 1871-1872, in the Tennessee legislature, McGhee had not been very much interested in politics during the several years prior to 1896. At the time of the election of 1888, instead of giving his own opinion he wrote to a friend that "one of the best informed Democrats in the City of New York" thought that "the business interests of the country would be equally protected, should either Cleveland or Harrison be elected."[2] To his son-in-law he confided, "As you know, I have no special feeling one way or the other—I do not consider his [Cleveland's] election essential to good government and the prosperity of the country."[3] Thus, although a life-long Democrat and a Confederate veteran, he was already inclined to place the security of business interests above partisanship.

When the news arrived in 1896 of the nomination by the Democratic party at its Chicago convention of the free silver advocate, William Jennings Bryan, on a platform which McGhee considered to be dangerously radical, he was immediately galvanized into activity. He joined forces with other business leaders to do everything within reason to bring about Bryan's defeat. To achieve this aim he distributed anti-free silver literature among the employees of the railroads with which he was connected, and he advised his employer friends to do likewise. As the campaign progressed he became more and more convinced that the Bryan candidacy was a threat to constitutional government and the security of property. Although expressing the belief that McKinley would win, he decided, influenced by his Scotch background, that it would be well to "husband" his resources, put his affairs in order, and be prepared for the worst.

The letters which follow illustrate interestingly the reaction of a southern Democrat living in New York City to the Bryan campaign, the fears engendered by it among the leaders of the business community, and the activities in which they became engaged in their efforts to resist the rising tide of the Populist revolt. Occasionally, portions of the letters of a personal nature or containing irrevelant material have been omitted.

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[1]For biographical information about McGhee see Marguerite B. Hamer, "Charles McClung McGhee," in *Dictionary of American Biography*, 21 vols. and index (New York, 1928-1945), 48, reprinted in revised form in her *Cameos of the South* (Philadelphia, 1940); and a sketch by Laura E. Luttrell in Mary U. Rothrock (ed.), *The French Broad-Holston Country: A History of Knox County, Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1946), 447-48. The section "Pioneers and Civic Leaders" (pp. 363-508) in this last-named work has been of great assistance in identifying many of the persons mentioned in the letters. Miss Pollyanna Creekmore, using the genealogical materials in the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee, has also supplied several important items of information.

[2]McGhee to John T. Hillsman, Custom House, Nashville, Tenn., October 29, 1888.

[3]McGhee to Calvin M. McClung, October 26, 1888. McClung, a Knoxville merchant, was the husband of Annie McGhee, one of the Colonel's daughters, and also the founder of the McClung Historical Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library.

McGHEE TO SANFORD

July 9th, 1896

Col. E. J. Sanford,
Knoxville, Tenn.

Enclosed you will find an interview with James J. Hill, President of the Great Northern Railway Company. It seems to me some extracts from this would be most excellent to have published in Knoxville.

I am going to have a book on the gold and silver question sent to every depot agent on the line of the Southern Railway in Tennessee and on the Knoxville & Ohio. I shall also have them sent to the agents on the line of the Memphis & Charleston Railroad.

The uncertainty and anxiety which is felt in the East, growing out of the rampant action of the silver crowd at the Chicago convention, is to have a fine influence, as it will induce an active educational campaign on the part of the business men throughout the country. The action of one man is indicative of others, and when you have as lazy a man as I am starting to work and urging others to work, it indicates a degree of feeling that is bound to bear fruit between now and November.

If you have Hills interview published, cut it out and send it to Capt. Chamberlain,[5] in order that he may use it in Chattanooga.

McG.

McGHEE TO HUMES

July 9th, 1896

Thos. W. Humes, Esq.,[6]
Vonore, Tenn.

. . . The silver craze which is running rampant at Chicago has so far demoralized financial affairs as to compel me to husband my resources in order to take care of some of my interests which are affected by it.

It is astonishing to hear men attempt to discuss the silver question who seem to think they thoroughly understand it, who never made a dollar in their lives and who have sat in the shade enjoying the fruits of the labor of others. They assume that they understand the effect upon the general business interests of the country of a change in the money standard better than the business and commercial men who have had opportunities, and have used them, to investigate the question, while they have been to [*sic*] lazy to employ themselves in that or any other direction.

McG.

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[4]Edward J. Sanford, a Knoxville industrialist and banker, and president of the Knoxville and Ohio Railroad Company. He was a delegate to the National Republican conventions of 1880 and 1896. His son, Edward Terry Sanford, became a justice of the United States Supreme Court.

[5]Capt. Hiram S. Chamberlain, a prominent Chattanooga industrialist, an ex-Federal army officer who had played a prominent part in the industrial development of East Tennessee.

[6]A nephew of McGhee and also a nephew of the Rev. Thomas W. Humes, president of the University of Tennessee, 1865-1883, and librarian of Lawson McGhee Library, 1886-1892.

McGHEE TO TYSON

July 9th, 1896

Lieut. L. D. Tyson,[7]
Knoxville, Tenn.

Do you think that the members of your gold club will vote against the free coinage canditate, or at least a large portion of them?

I sent you a book a few days ago and have ordered 200 more copies of it and can send you some to use in your gold club if you desire it. If you need a little more money I will send you a check to use in your club.

McG.

COWAN[8] TO McGHEE

Baltimore, Md.,
July 11, 1896

C. M. McGhee, Esq.,
80 Broadway, New York.

I am gratified beyond measure at receiving yours of 10th inst.

A great many of our people here have already taken position and the Stock Exchange members are substantially solid for McKinley. The sound money Democrats are talking of organizing a Sound Money Club and a Committee to aid in the Campaign.

One reason for taking the immediate stand I did was not only to aid in forming public opinion but to help to ward off, if possible so to do, this theory of a third ticket—that is the putting up of a gold Democrat. I agree with you that the forces at work are such that we ought to combine to defeat them.

There is a great deal more involved in this campaign than mere free silver. The Democratic Convention at Chicago, and their platform, makes an attack on property, on contract, on Judicial institution, and on the supremacy of Federal authority, which must be met and met now.

To show how they have let loose the forces of mis-rule, on my way down town this morning I met a Democratic friend who told me that last evening when walking down one of our streets he noticed a fellow standing in a wagon, waving a little American Flag and advocating to a body of colored men the destruction of labor saving devices, explaining to them how many labor saving devices has been invented and how they were driving people out of employment; he had not proceeded far when on another street corner he found a man discoursing to a motley crowd in favor of Government ownership of everything—railroads, incidentally denouncing all railroad men,—telegraph and everything of that sort. I have no doubt had he continued his wanderings he would have found still other forms of cranks

[7]Lawrence D. Tyson, a son-in-law of McGhee, later colonel in the Spanish-American War, brigadier general in World War I, and senator from Tennessee, 1925-1931. In 1896, after his resignation a year earlier from the position of professor of military science at the University of Tennessee, he was a member of the law firm of Lucky and Sanford.

[8]John K. Cowan (or Cowen), related to the prominent Cowan family of Knoxville and East Tennessee.

and fanatics at work. The fact is the Chicago Convention has set loose all these forces of mis-rule, etc., and we ought all to unite to defeat the platform and the candidates thereon.

I had seen a notice of the pamphlet you refer to, sent for some sample copies and am thinking of ordering some of these as well as other pamphlets of the kind which I think it would be well to distribute. I want to collect funds for the distribution of such literature among several classes, first, our own railroad employees, 2nd, the Street Railways of the City, with which I am connected, 3rd, the employees of the coal Companies in our State and West Virginia. At least 35000 to 40000 men can be reached this way.

In relation to our old friend, Colonel Patterson,[9] I have already raised him a certain amount of money and have intended seeing you to ascertain if you could not get for him say $1000.

If you can do this, I think the Colonel will have sufficient to conduct his sound money campaign. We need him in the House for many reasons. We ought to have a Democrat there who is solid on the gold question and who will not countenance attack on property etc.

John K. Cowan

McGHEE TO COWAN

July 19th, 1896

Hon. John K. Cowan,
Baltimore, Md.

I was very much gratified this morning to find that you had taken the position of a Democrat that would vote for McKinley in the contest that is now upon us. Your position will strengthen others and induce confidence in the Agricultural classes and very much fear that the silver craze has taken a stronger hold upon them than we apprehend. This is to be a campaign of education and if the Democratic leaders, would as yourself, announce their determination to vote for McKinley and set to work to educate the public mind, the country might be saved from destruction, only equaled by the rebellion[10] of 1861.

I was about writing you in regard to our old friend Josiah Patterson. He is having a hard contest and I thought of suggestion that we ought to raise some money to aid him in his fight, but the Presidential election is of so much more consequence that I did not carry out my intention in that regard.

I am sending out to every depot agent and postmaster on the lines of road with which I am connected a pamphlet entitled "Wages, Fixed Incomes and the Free Coinage of Silver". It presents all of the sound money arguments in simple language and should have a good effect.

McG.

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[9]Josiah Patterson, congressman from the Memphis district, 1891-1897, defeated in 1896 by Edward W. Carmack.

[10]It is of interest to note the use of this word by a ex-Confederate colonel.

McGHEE TO THOMAS

July 16th, 1896

Col. J. W. Thomas, President,[11]
Nashville, Tenn.

Please let me know what the feeling in your section of the country is with reference to the Chicago nominations.

I feel that the election of that ticket would be the absolute subservience of all good government and that the 16 to 1 plank is one of the least harmful in the platform.

I send you to-day half a dozen copies of a pamphlet on the subject of free coinage. I am sending copies of this little book all along the lines of road in which I am interested, to the representative employees. While this may not be the best form of literature, I hope you will at once take up the question of the education of your people. I enclose an extract from an address issued by President Fowler of the Ontario & Western to his employees, which containes some good points.

I have never felt such a deep interest in an election in my life, as it seems to me the preservation of the government as handed down to us by our forefathers is in jeopardy.

I shall be glad to hear from you.

McG.

THOMAS TO McGHEE

Nashville, Tenn
July 18, 1896

C. M. McGhee, Esqr.,
80 Broadway, New York, N. Y.

Referring to your letter of the 18th.

Regret that the silver craze is almost universal in Tennessee, as the idea seems to generally prevail that the hard times we have experienced for the past three years resulted from the single gold standard; and if an election were to take place today, the silver ticket would be elected by a large majority.

We hope to secure some modification of public opinion during the next four months, but I am not at all hopeful of the result.

J. W. Thomas.

McGHEE TO McCLUNG[12]

July 16th, 1896

Dear Cal:—

I received a letter from Annie this morning, which indicates that you have gone home.

[11]John W. Thomas, president of the Nashville, Chattanooga, and St. Louis Railroad.

[12]See note 3, above.

I was very glad to get the annual statement of your business.[13] I know of no business that would stand the shock of a political revolution better than your own.

As you will see the Chicago nominations have had a very demoralizing influence on the prices of securities. I have sold out enough of mine at a loss to get out of debt and feel now perfectly easy, as what I have are paid for, and in any event will be worth something.

The election of the Chicago ticket means a great deal more than free coinage. The platform makes an attack on property, on contract, and judicial institutions, and on the supremacy of Federal authority,[14] which all good men should try to prevent. If Brian should be elected and a subservient Congress was also elected, he would make changes in the Supreme Court by the enforced retirement of a sufficient number of the Judges during his term, to bring about a reorganization of that body so as to insure a decision in favor of the Income tax. This could be done most likely by the enforced retirement of all the Judges at the age the law permits them to retire, and probably deaths,[15]—in fact no means would be left untried to secure such results. A law would be passed to prohibit the interference of Federal authority during the times of strikes, insurrections etc. All contracts would be declared payable in silver and in fact the whole spirit of the Government would [be] revolutionized.

My own impression is that the ticket is stronger now than it ever will be again. Still I have very little confidence in the agricultural classes, but I am inclined to hope that the wage earners in manufacturing establishments will combine to defeat the ticket.

McG.

LEONHARDT[16] TO CALLAWAY

July 21st. 1896.

Mr. James Callaway,[17]
McGhee, Tenn.

Your letter of the 16th. instant addressed to Col. McGhee at Knoxville has been forwarded to him at this point.

In reply Mr. McGhee requests me to say that while he would like to comply with your wishes in regard to making you the loan, that owing to the unsettled financial condition of the country, it is utterly impossible for him to do so.

The unwise and un-democratic action of the Chicago convention in framing so radical a platform has started a disturbance in financial circles, which at the present time it is impossible to predict the consequences or the end, and all men who have varied interests are compelled to use their resources in protecting many of their weaker interests from total loss. This is Mr. McGhee's condition at present, and he desires me to say that until

[13]A hardware firm in Knoxville.

[14]Note the borrowing of the phraseology used by John K. Cowan, above.

[15]An interesting suggestion with which the later "court-packing" efforts of Franklin D. Roosevelt may be compared.

[16]Charles Leonhardt, McGhee's private secretary.

[17]A farmer of Monroe County, Tennessee, and a distant relative of McGhee.

things look brighter, it would be utterly impossible for him to render financial assistance to any one.

L.
Secretary

McGHEE TO WILLIAMS[18]

80 Broadway, New York
August 10th 1896

Dear Shelby:—

I received your letter some time ago.

Since that time quite a number of things have occured in the political world and the effect produced involved in the N. Y. Stock Exchange have been unusually severe.

The banks are now below their reserve and money is getting very scarce and it looks to me as if there would be stagnation in general business until after the Election.

It is usually the case when the New York banks get below their reserve and money becomes tight at this point that it tightens up all over the Country but it usually requires some little time before this result is realized.

Capital is very timid and New York capital is now very much afraid that Bryan will be Elected and seems to be discounting it.

Bryan will carry all the Southern States, as I take it except perhaps Kentucky, and the contest will be in the middle western states, with the results at this time undeveloped.

I hope you are doing well in your lumber business. Some month or six weeks ago I thought I saw indications of a decline in securities and sold out a considerable amount of bonds and stock. What I have now I own, and I must just suffer the decline which results during the present condition of things.

McG.

SANFORD[19] TO McGHEE

Knoxville, Tenn.,
August 15th, 1896.

Col. C. M. McGhee,
80 Broadway, New York.

I was very glad to get your telegram and also one from Mr. Schley, yesterday, showing improved conditions of affairs in New York. I must think the worst has been discounted no matter what happens. To show you somewhat the tendency in this State, I was down at Nashville at the republican convention. You know what was done there, nominating Mr. Tillman,[20] which was exactly the right thing to do as he is in the first-place, the strongest man in the State, nothing to defend about him in any respect and will

[18]David Shelby Williams, McGhee's son-in-law, who had married May Lawson McGhee.

[19]Edward J. Sanford. See note 4, above.

[20]George N. Tillman, Republican nominee for governor of Tennessee in 1896, defeated by Robert L. Taylor.

get almost the solid business man's democratic vote in Nashville and I hear of many in this city who will vote for him also. I think I had more to do than any other person in securing his nomination, but this is not what I wanted to state. At the convention there was about 700 delegates from all parts of the State and a more representative body of men, I have never seen together in this State. I did not see a drunk man and but very few colored men in the delegation, and during the whole sitting not one sentiment was uttered by any man that even smacked of free silver. I inquired from delegates from all over the State how the free silver sentiment was getting along, whether increasing or diminishing and from every source my information was that it is dying out rapidly and that no republicans to speak of would vote with them. I mention this merely to coroborate the statement I made to you a week or two since. The factions of the republican party in this State are in harmony now on Tillman and if the National Committee needs Tennessee they can get her, because there are enough democrats in this state with the republicans who will vote solid, to carry it. . . .

E. J. Sanford

McGHEE TO CHAMBERLAIN

August 17th, 1896.

Capt. H. S. Chamberlain[21]
Chattanooga, Tenn.

Your letter of the 14th. instant has been received.

I am very glad to hear that you are paying close attention to your credits, as I think matters are very uncertain indeed. Money is very close here and in fact time money cannot be had, customers being taken care of with call loans.

While the vote for the Judges in Tennessee was not a test vote by any means it shows that the Democrats are alive and active and as they usually are ready to vote early and as often as possible. I have no hopes whatever of the Republicans carrying that State in November, nor do I think they will carry any of the Southern states. The Republicans here are very apprehensive, I am sorry to say. On Friday I had a talk with a well informed man from Maryland and he says that Maryland will go for Bryan. He also had information from West Virginia and says the same thing of that state. A gold Democrat from New Jersey told me the [that] he was absolutely astounded at the silver feeling that exists in that state.

The disaster that would result should Bryan be elected is so terrible to contemplate that my hopes and believe [belief] that McKinley will be elected are to a certain extent tempered by a very serious doubt. No adequate conception can be formed as to the demoralization and injury that would result to the country in the event of Bryan's election, and it accordingly behooves every business man, no matter how strong his hopes may be of McKinley's election, to put his house in order and be prepared for the worst. The interest that would suffer the most would be the owners of Railway securities and the people that have money loaned. . . .

McG.

[21]See note 4, above.

McGHEE TO TYSON[22]

August 31st. 1896.

Dear Lawrence:—

. . . The probabilities of McKinley's election have improved I think within the last week or ten days. The Third Party movement has assumed greater proportions than I had anticipated, and the indications are that they will have a considerable following. The farmer vote of the middle West is the unknown quantity, and at the present it is impossible to determine just how much it is affected by the free silver fallacy.

Bryan's nomination was a disappointment to the conservative element in the Chicago convention, as the leaders wanted either Teller, Boies or Bland.[23] This young fellow Bryan, however, succeeded in capturing the convention with his oratorical powers and in the frenzy of excitement resulting from his speech secured the nomination.[24] He is a native of the West and was born and bred upon the soil that has always been prejudiced against wealth and capital, and regards it in the nature of a crime. He started out in life with the aim of becoming a politician, and in doing so he assumed the cause of the common people in antagonizing wealth and corporate interests. I think he has [been] always honest in his views, and was originally not at all a bad man, except perhaps that he has always been some what of a demagogue. But his contest in this case has brought him in direct conflict with capital, and every day he is becoming more and more embittered against wealth, and if elected will be a most dangerous man, as he would not hesitate to revolutionize the affairs of the Government by the reorganization of the judiciary and the destruction of the present national banking system, without probably doing anything to take its place. I certainly hope he may be defeated and I now think things look very much more promising to that end.

I assume that both you and Cal are gold men and being for gold will probably vote for McKinley, but there is no call upon either of you to take any active part in the campaign, more than to express your sentiments whenever necessary. I am glad you did not go to the Indianapolis convention as it is not best for you to enter politics. Show this letter to Cal. . . .

McG.

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[22]See note 7, above.

[23]Henry M. Teller of Colorado, Horace Boies of Iowa, Richard P. Bland of Missouri.

[24]For a recent criticism of this contemporary viewpoint concerning Bryan's nomination see James A. Barnes, "Myths of the Bryan Campaign," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* (Cedar Rapids), XXXIV (1946-1947), 367-404.

LEONHARDT TO McCLUNG

Sept. 14th. 1896.

Mr. C. M. McClung,[25]
Knoxville, Tenn.

. . . I am glad to hear that the silver sentiment is being drawn along party lines in the rural sections of Tennessee. This being the case, it seems to me that with the third ticket, which will certainly get some of the Democratic vote, that McKinley stands some sort of a chance to carry Tennessee. I have never heard just how you stand on this question, but I take it that you are for sound money and stability. I sometimes think that perhaps I may be a little biast [*sic*] on this question, as I am here in the hot bed of "Goldbug-ism," and read nothing but the one side and hear nothing else. But it certainly does seem to me that a great many people are being deluded by the idea that free coinage will cure all the ills of poverty and incompetency, when if they would only calmly consider it for a moment, they must know that the demoralization resulting from the change in our money standard is bound to cause wide spread suffering, 99-100% of which will be among the working classes. But enough of this.

L.

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[25]See notes 3 and 16, above. This apparently is a personal letter from Leonhardt instead of being written for McGhee. The private secretary appears to have realized somewhat that he was surrounded by a rather biased atmosphere in New York and was considerably affected by it.

WRITINGS ON TENNESSEE HISTORY, 1949

Compiled by Pollyanna Creekmore

Alexander, Thomas B. Kukluxism in Tennessee, 1865-1869. (Tenn. hist. qr. Sept. '49. v. 8: 195-219.)

————————. Neither peace nor war: conditions in Tennessee in 1865. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 21: 33-51.)

Armytage, W.H.G. New light on the English background of Thomas Hughes' Rugby colony in Tennessee. (East Tenn. hist. soc. Pubs. no. 21: 69-84.)

Atherton, Lewis Eldon. The Southern country store, 1800-1860. Baton Rouge, La. state univ. press, 1949. 236 p.

Bentley, George F. Printers and printing in the Southwest Territory, 1790-1796. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '49. v.8: 332-44.)

Boswell, George W. Some characteristics of folksongs of Middle Tennessee. (Tenn. folklore soc. Bul. Dec. '49. v. 15: 63-69.)

Brockman, W. E. Virginia wills and abstracts. Minneapolis, 1949. The author. c.o. Midland Nat. bank, Minneapolis, Minn.

Chambers, William N. As the twig is bent: the family and the North Carolina years of Thomas Hart Benton, 1752-1801. (North Carolina hist. rev. Oct. '49. v.26: 385-416.)

————————. Thomas Hart Benton in Tennessee, 1801-1812. (Tenn. hist. qr. Dec. '49. v.8: 291-331.)

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University of Tennessee

Carver, Martha Cummins. Vitalizing Tennessee history in the junior high school.

Clark, Joseph Harold. History of the Knoxville iron company.

Davis, Dean Frederick. An ecological survey of the odovata of the Morristown, Tennessee state fish hatchery.

Dixon, Oma Greene. The school improvement program in Hardeman county schools.

Dougherty, Edward C. Cordell Hull's policy toward Japan from 1933 to 1941.

Goins, Joe Clyde. The part-time cooperative program in diversified occupations in Campbell county, Tennessee.

Irwin, David. Land utilization in Houston county, Tennessee.
Jolley, Harley E. The Trist mission to Mexico, 1847-1848.
Lee, Chi Yuen. The impact of TVA on agriculture.
Lessig, Joseph Watson. The geology of the Norris quadrangle, Anderson, Campbell and Knox counties, Tennessee.
Mitchell, Eleanor Drake. A bibliographical checklist of Tennessee imprints, 1861-1866, with an introductory essay on the Civil War press in Tennessee.
Poole, Joe Lester. The geology of the Harriman quadrangle, Roane and Morgan counties, Tennessee.
Roblyer, Leslie F. The road to state-wide prohibition in Tennessee, 1899-1909.
Sniegocki, Richard Ted. The geology of the Powell Station quadrangle, Knox and Anderson counties, Tennessee.
Spangler, John Franklin. The geology of the Graveston quadrangle, Union and Knox counties, Tennessee.
Swingle, George David. Petrography of the Chilhowee group, near Walland, Tennessee.
Ward, Thomas L. Anti-slavery sentiment in the upper South, 1820-1833.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

A Financial History of Tennessee Since 1870. By James E. Thorogood. (Sewanee, Tenn.: Prof. J. E. Thorogood, University of the South, 1949. Pp. x, 245. Bibliography, footnotes, tables.)

"Between 1870 and the present time, Tennessee has evolved from a relatively obscure agricultural state into an increasingly urban, industrialized state upon which, due to the Tennessee Valley Authority experiment and the atomic energy developments at Oak Ridge, the eyes of all America and of the entire world have turned. Great advances have been made in development and conservation of our rich natural resources and in the promotion of a balanced industrial growth. Wealth and income have expanded, living standards have risen, health has been improved, and educational progress of great magnitude has been made.

"Along with these developments have come greater burdens upon State and local units of government, increasing need for revenues, more complicated governmental organization, and the requirement of more scientific techniques and more efficient personnel. Government in Tennessee is now too important to be inefficient.

"The purpose of this history is to trace the growth of our taxes, expenditures, debt and fiscal administration from 1870 to the middle of the 20th century, in order to give a clearer understanding of the present by showing how we have become what we are." (Preface.)

Political Reconstruction in Tennessee. By Thomas B. Alexander. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1950. Pp. 292. Appendices, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $4.00.)

"This is primarily a study of the political aspects of Reconstruction in Tennessee. No relegation of economic and social factors to secondary importance is implied; the decision to limit scope came only after intricacies of the political scene were found to justify separate, detailed treatment. In many respects Tennessee Reconstruction was unique. Local Unionists reestablished civil government, and the Radicalism which triumphed for a time was decidedly home-grown. Yet this was the first ex-Confederate state in which the Radicals were overthrown. Congress did not include it in the Military Reconstruction program; hence local considerations were allowed relatively free play. The people were divided by intrastate sectionalism, former party affiliations, Reconstruction policies, and racial problems—in addition to Confederate-Unionist loyalties. These bases of animosity overlaid one another in a kaleidoscopic political pattern, delineation of which proved a challenge in itself.

"It has often been said that the "bottom rail" was on top during Reconstruction. Such a generalization was evidently incorrect if applied to Tennessee, and an effort has been made to ascertain who did compose the political leadership of the period. Biographical information on more

than one thousand individuals who held state offices between 1865 and 1870 has been sought from sources bearing on the period from 1834 to 1890 in order to determine previous or subsequent political experience. . . ." (Preface.)

John Bell of Tennessee. By Joseph Howard Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. Pp. xi, 435. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $5.00.)

"As the political leader of a border state, John Bell was representative of a significant segment of Southern opinion in the period before the Civil War. 'A rebel, but not a secessionist,' Mr. Parks terms him in this book, the first full-length biography of the Tennessee senator. As the breach between North and South widened after 1850, Bell sought to retain slavery for the South, but he sought just as desperately to prevent secession. It was only after war began and his difficult position became untenable that John Bell finally took a stand with the Confederacy.

"Mr. Parks reveals Bell in this study as a slow, earnest thinker who possessed many qualities typical of his fellow Tennesseans. He entered politics as a Jacksonian Democrat, although Jackson himself supported another in the race for the seat in the House of Representatives which Bell won. After his first term, however, Bell began to lean toward the Whig camp. His feud with Polk shook the Democratic party, and his support of Hugh Lawson White for the presidency in 1836 completed the break. Henceforth he endorsed most of the principles of the Clay Whigs and directed the anti-Jackson-Van Buren forces in the House. For his efforts, especially in carrying Tennessee for the Whigs in 1840, he was made Secretary of War in Harrison's cabinet, a position he reluctantly resigned at Clay's behest.

"When John Bell became Tennessee's senator in 1847, he vigorously opposed further prosecution of the war with Mexico. As owner of large mining interests involving the use of many slaves, he was conservative on slavery, and he sought to still the controversy raging over the question. . . . His espousal of the middle-of-the-road view made him standard-bearer of the Constitutional Union party, which hoped to banish slavery from politics in the election of 1860. Failing in this and unable to endorse secession, Bell in despair advocated a policy of caution following the election of Lincoln, but after Fort Sumter he was at last forced to align himself with the South." (Jacket.)

Edmund Pendleton Gaines: Frontier General. By James W. Silver. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. xxi, 291. Illustrations, maps, footnotes, bibliographical note, index. $4.50.)

"Gaines was closely associated with nearly every eminent politician and soldier from Wilkinson and Sevier to John Quincy Adams, Harrison, and Polk. Friendship with Jackson turned into bitter enmity and Gaine's [*sic*] 30-year feud with Scott has no parallel in United States army records. When he married—for the third time—he plunged into the most fantastic court battle of the century. . . .

"In Mr. Silver's able study, Gaines is treated as a symbol of the young nation's expansion westward. Gaines strenuously opposed the frontier attitude toward the red man; he strove to civilize the Indians in their home lands rather than to remove them to the western plains. He fought British, Spaniards, and Indians, but always exerted his influence for peace, for

the prevention of strife between white and red men, for internal improvements, cross-country railroads, and adequate national defense.

"Among other things, Gaines surveyed the Natchez Trace, captured Aaron Burr, defeated Wellington's regulars at Fort Erie, presided over the famous courts-marshal of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, removed free-booters from Amelia Island, engaged in a little known but highly significant state rights controversy with Governor Troup of Georgia seven years before South Carolina's nullification, and, in defiance of authority, called tens of thousands of militia to the assistance of Zachary Taylor. His uncompromising and highly vocal disdain for the VIP's of his day led him into heated wrangles with generals, presidents, and secretaries of war and finally threatened his removal from the army.

"Mr. Silver believes that Gaines's almost legendary disputations have obscured the contributions Gaines made as a builder and defender of the nation." (Jacket.)

Gaines' second wife was Barbara Blount, the orphaned daughter of William Blount. As commander of the Western Department of the army he was stationed for some time at Memphis, which was the center of his extensive railroad-defense plans.

Nashville: "Athens of the South." By Henry McRaven. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Sheer and Jervis, for Tennessee Book Co., Nashville, Tenn., 1949. Pp. xiii, 303. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

"The 'Athens of The South' is the description given to Nashville by its early settlers in recognition of the educational and intellectual leadership manifest by its founders. . . .

"In any event, just as Athens, Greece, was recognized centuries ago as the center of learning, so Nashville was accredited from its very beginning as a community where the attributes of learning and the appreciation of the fine arts were reflected in the leadership of its men and women in all walks of life. . . .

"This volume is intended primarily to give a panoramic cross-section of the cultural life of Nashville from its beginning to the present. Of necessity, many incidents, which some may consider of primary importance, have been omitted, since they have been covered before by capable writers.

"Many and various elements enter into the development of cities. A number of our large cities owe their growth primarily to their strategic locations on important waterways, others to their natural resources of coal and iron. With Nashville it was different. Her place in the sun was won for her by her children—native and adopted." (Introduction.)

The appendices include a chronology of Nashville and lists of public officials. Although only Master's theses are listed under "Unpublished Material" in the bibliography, it is evident that considerable use was made of the rich store of documentary materials in the State Library and the holdings of the Tennessee Historical Society. Considerable dependence, it appears, was placed on information gleaned from newspapers, and frequently the dates of the newspapers, cited or quoted are given in the text. It is to be regretted that more exact citations to other types of materials used were not given, either in footnotes or in references near the end of the book.

Southwestern at Memphis, 1848-1948. By Waller Raymond Cooper. (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1949. Pp. ix, 172. Illustrations, appendix.)

"As Southwestern at Memphis completes its first century, it is appropriate that this history should be published and that its author should be precisely the person who was chosen to write it. Professor Cooper is not only the Chairman of the Department of History at Southwestern and a lifelong student of Southern history; he is also that member of the faculty who, with the exception of President Diehl, has been most closely connected with the development of the college during the last twenty-five years. . . .

"The plans of the founders of Southwestern Presbyterian University had been bold, vigorous, and enlightened. That they could not be carried out fully at Clarksville was due to the very conditions of Southern life that war and defeat created. The history of the college until its removal to Memphis is, at first glance, the depressing chronicle of failure: failure due to economic distress, to recurring panics, and to a tendency toward obscurantism in the Church itself.

"But it would be an error to read the history of those decades merely as a record of failure. The handicaps under which the college operated can be explained by "natural" causes: natural both in the theological and in the human meaning of that word. What cannot be so explained is its success in surviving at all. This was attributable to the remarkable vitality of the institution, a vitality that bespoke the faith and confidence of its faculty and Board of Directors . . . . It was they who kept alive the dream of a great college of liberal arts which would serve not only the Church but the South. They did their work so faithfully that in 1917 there was in existence a Southwestern Presbyterian University for President Diehl to take over. It is difficult to think of anything more typically Southern than this achievement by a small group, not known outside their own community, unaided by funds from Northern foundations, but determined to work as individuals in the rebuilding of the cultural life of their area." (Foreword.)

Conspiración Española? 1787-1789: *Contribución al Estudio de las Primeras Relaciones Históricas Entre España y Los Estados Unidos de Norte America.* By José Navarro and Fernando Solano Costa. (Sargossa, Spain: Institutión Fernando el Caiólico, 1949. Pp. viii, 359. 80 ptas.)

This treatment of the "Spanish Conspiracy" contains the first printing in its entirety, although in a Spanish translation, of James Wilkinson's famous memorial of September 3, 1787, to the Spanish governor at New Orleans, and is therefore an important supplement to the "Papers from the Spanish Archives," edited by D. C. and Roberta Corbitt, which have been appearing in installment form since 1937 in the successive issues of these *Publications.* Consideration is also given to the intrigues with the Spaniards of the Tennessee settlers under the leadership of John Sevier and James Robertson, as well as of the Kentuckians. Emphasis is naturally placed by these Spanish authors upon the idea, long accepted also by most American historians, that the initiative in the intrigues was taken by the Americans rather than by the Spaniards, and therefore the name "Spanish Conspiracy" is a misnomer.

Early History of Carter County, 1760-1861. By Frank Merritt, Elizabethton, Tenn. (Knoxville: The East Tennesse Historical Society, 1950. Pp. iv, 213. Footnotes, bibliography, appendix, index. $2.50.)

"Recent surveys have indicated that people as a whole do not know too much concerning the history of our nation. Unfortunately, this is all the more true of most of the people in many of the counties of Tennessee with respect to their own local history. Therefore, my primary purpose in this study has been to inform myself of the history of Carter County and secondly to do my part in helping preserve for our children and future generations something of this interesting past. Since the writer is a native of Carter County and a descendant of some of those early pioneers, this research project has been conducted as a labor of love and respect to those who have handed down to us such a rich and treasured heritage.

"This study has been limited to four aspects of the early county history, namely, government and politics, religious development, educational development, and slavery and secession. It is fully realized that other aspects of the county history such as industries, agriculture, transportation, and families might have been selected and would have proved just as fruitful in the findings. It is earnestly hoped that further research will develop these and other aspects of the county history. An introductory chapter, briefly surveying the activities in the Watauga country prior to 1796, has been added to furnish the necessary background for a study." (Preface.)

A History of Bradley County. By John Morgan Wooten. (Cleveland, Tenn.: Bradley County Post 81, The American Legion, with the cooperation of the Tennessee Historical Commission, 1949. Pp. 323. Illustrations, maps, appendix. $6.00.)

"The urge to make his history as nearly accurate and complete as possible has driven Mr. Wooten to every conceivable expedient for the discovery of the necessary facts. His task must needs cover the events of more than a century when, of course, all who knew the beginnings of the period are long dead. He has given to all pertinent public records of Bradley and other counties and of the State as well rigid and repeated scrutiny; he has examined and copied multitudes of private documents, letters, diaries, and papers; he has pored over books, newspapers, pamphlets, legislative acts, court decisions, corporate charters, and the like; he has spent many weeks in graveyards over a wide area copying from tombstones data to be found nowhere else; he has laid tribute on public and private libraries far and near and upon State and National archives—inshort, he has made his search as thorough as infinite labor, love of the task, and bodily endurance would permit.

"Mr. Wooten in this volume has endeavored to unfold the history of Bradley County as a whole, rather than to detail the lives of the people who have lived within its boundaries. His central thesis depicts the fruits of the joint labors of all, instead of dwelling upon the personalities of those who achieved the common task. However, in the course of his labors Mr. Wooten has gathered and arranged a large mass of material about all the old families of the County, the early publication of which is to be earnestly hoped for." (Introduction.)

The chapter headings are: I. Early History, Organization; II. The Cherokee Indians; III. Natural Features, Early Transportation; IV. Education; V. Religion; VI. Bench and Bar; VII. Institutions; VIII. War Record.

The First Fifteen Years: A History of the Tennessee State Planning Commission. By Eleanor Keeble Guess. (Knoxville: Division of University Extension for the Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee. *The University of Tennessee Record,* Vol. XXV, No. 5, June, 1949. Pp. xi, 102. Footnotes, index.)

"The Tennessee State Planning Commission, created by Chapter 43 of the *Public Acts* of 1935, is composed of eight citizen members and the governor of the state. Its purpose, as set forth in the act, is to 'plan for the development of the state's resources so as to promote the health, prosperity and welfare of the people of the state.'. . .

"Originally established by executive order in 1934 as the Tennessee State Planning Board, the commission owes its existence to federal stimulation from the National Resources Board and the Tennessee Valley Authority. Throughout the years it has received considerable financial support from both of those agencies as well as from the Federal Housing Administration and the Works Progress Administration. In 1947, for the first time since its establishment the commission was almost completely independent of any outside agency, with the exception of a TVA subsidy for the salary of one of its local planning staff members." (Page 89.)

Toward a New Politics in the South. By Jasper Berry Shannon. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1949. Pp. vii, 102. References. $2.00.)

"Jasper Berry Shannon, a native of Kentucky and presently Professor of Political Science at the University of Kentucky is especially well equipped by nature, by training, and by an active and varied career to speak on the subject of Southern politics. For that reason he was invited to become Visiting Professor at The University of Tennessee during the summer of 1947 and in that capacity delivered the series of lectures now published in this book." (Foreword.)

The chapter headings (lectures) are: Party, Tradition, and Region in Southern Politics; Voting in the South: Past, Present and Future; The Governing Class of a Southern County Seat; The South and the Future of the Democratic Party; Southern Politics in an Atomic Age; A Creative Future?

Confederate Currency and Stamps, 1861-1865: *Official Acts of Congress Authorizing Their Issue.* By Claude E. Fuller. (Nashville: Tennessee Division, United Daughters of the Confederacy, 1949. Pp. 236. Illustrations, index. $7.50.)

"The keen interest in the subject of Confederate currency has led to the publication of numerous lists and catalogues. . . .

"In the present work an effort has been made to compile the data given by these authorities with the official records to give a more complete story of the financial structure of the Confederacy.

"The Acts of the Legislators authorizing the various issues, the efforts to avoid the disastrous results of the rapid inflation of the currency, and the final collapse of the system, tell a story that should be of interest to all and should be studied by some of our present-day advocates of 'cheap money.'

"An effort has been made to include a cut and description of all the different Confederate notes and list the known variations of each; but the claim is not made that a complete listing is possible, as there are no official

records available giving this information. Some of the outstanding bonds and certificates are also described, with the acts authorizing the issue and the laws passed looking to the payment of the interest on them, and their final redemption.

"Of equal interest and importance in a study of this phase of the conflict, the available information on the kindred subjects of coins, stamps, medals, seal, and flags has been compiled from official and other authentic sources." (Introduction.)

Home Rule for Municipalities. By Edith Foster Howard. (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, 1949. Pp. 39. Appendix, footnotes.)

"Municipal home rule has attracted considerable interest in recent years as a method for assuring a greater measure of local self-government for American municipalities. In particular the adoption of home rule has been hailed as a solution to the perennial problem of special legislation. At once the idea is seen as a relief for the city from the arbitrary rule of the local legislative delegation, and as a boon for the state lawmakers who have had to give an inordinate share of their time and attention to matters of no more than local importance. In view of the attention which this idea is currently receiving in other states, it may be regarded as of special interest in Tennessee where the special legislation problem is particularly acute. Thus the basic issues of home rule are explored in the following pages with the express purpose of providing Tennessee citizens with information concerning the relative merits of one possible solution to the special legislation problem. The study was undertaken at the request of the Tennessee Municipal League." (Foreword.)

City-County Educational Relationships in Tennessee. By George C. Howard, Jr. and Edith Foster Howard. (Knoxville: The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, 1949. Pp. 32. Appendix, tables.)

"The relationships between cities and counties have always been a perplexing problem for both practitioners and students of government. This study focuses on one phase of this problem—probably the one most in common evidence—that of school systems. We trust that our report will help clarify the complex web of relationships involved in the administration of the schools of this state." (Foreword.)

Soil and Sky: The Development and Use of Tennessee Valley Resources. By M. H. Satterfield. (Knoxville: Division of University Extension for The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, *The University of Tennessee Record,* Extension Series, Vol. XXVI, No. 3, May, 1950. Pp. ix, 120. Footnotes.)

"*Soil and Sky* is a reproduction of a study prepared by Dr. M. H. Satterfield of the Tennessee Valley Authority and issued by that agency in 1947, under the title *Tennessee Valley Resources; Their Development and Use.* It is here put into printed form for the first time, but its contents remain unaltered. This report is in a sense a progress report on the first 14 years of TVA. It gives especial attention to the methods and working relationships between TVA and other agencies. In addition, it is indicative of the magnitude of the job yet to be done by the people and their public agencies." (Foreword.)

The chapter headings are: I. TVA: Its Functions and Methods of Operation; II. The Development of the Region's Water Resources; III. Conservation of the Region's Land Resources; IV. Restoration of the Region's Forest Resources; V. Development of the Region's Mineral Resources; VI. Other Programs for Developing the Region's Resources; VII. The Future.

Riverfront: the Protection of Municipal Waterfronts in Tennessee. By Edith Foster Howard. (Knoxville: Division of University Extension for The Bureau of Public Administration, University of Tennessee, *The University of Tennessee Record,* Extension Series, Vol. XXV, No. 1, March, 1949. Pp. ix, 59. Footnotes, index.)

"As an outgrowth of a cooperative investigation of the public administration of natural resources in the Southeastern states conducted by six state institutions, and the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Universities of Alabama, Kentucky, and Tennessee authorized a study of the control of waterfronts by municipalities in those three states. . . .

"This study grows out of one of the three state studies mentioned above." (Foreword.)

The chapter headings are: I. Background of Tennessee Riverfront Development; II. Uses of Municipal Waterfronts in Tennessee; III. Governmental Concern With Waterfront Development; IV. The Need for Governmental Action; V. A Forward View.

The Economy of Greeneville, Tennessee. Study No. 21 of the Bureau of Research, College of Business Administration, University of Tennessee. By J. Fred Holly. (Knoxville: Division of University Extension, *The University of Tennessee Record,* Extension Series, Vol. XXVI, No. 1, March, 1950. Pp. ix, 64. Bibliography, footnotes.)

"This study of the economy of Greeneville is one of a series of reports on East Tennessee communities by the College of Business Administration of the University of Tennessee. The scope of the materials covered is quite broad, but several phases of the data are not fully developed. For example, improvements in agricultural practices and crop diversification have apparently occurred with benefit to Greeneville; however, such trends are not analyzed. Also, the assumption is made that the city's trade area covers the county, although specific data requisite to the verification of this premise were not collected. Yet, there is ample evidence that the Greeneville economy is characterized by the dominance of agriculture and trade; although manufacturing has expanded to play an increasingly important role in the life of the community." (Preface.)

Financial and Operating Characteristics of the Municipal and Cooperative Distributors of T. V. A. Power. Study No. 20 of The Bureau of Research, College of Business Administration, University of Tennessee. By Edward J. Neuner. (Knoxville: Division of University Extension, *The University of Tennessee Record,* Extension Series, Vol. XXV, No. 4, May, 1949. Pp. vii, 115. Tables.)

"Since the Tennessee Valley Authority was established in 1933, its operations and activities have been discussed in innumerable articles, books, and pamphlets. Although there has been lengthy discussion of the accounting policies followed by the Authority and of the rate schedules for electric

power, little attention has been devoted to the organizations—municipalities and cooperatives—that distribute electric power.

"Sufficient time has now elapsed to warrant detailed examination of the financial operations of these distributors. In general, how have they fared?" (Foreword.)

History of Meridian Baptist Church, Old Sevierville Pike, Knoxville, Tennessee: Church Directory and Church Roll in Celebration of the Seventy-sixth Anniversary. By Robert P. Hamby. (Knoxville: Robert P. Hamby, 1950. Pp. ii, 52.)

"The occasion of this writing is the celebration of the Seventy-sixth Anniversary of the Meridian Baptist Church. The writer has had access to the only three record books of minutes of this church which have been recorded by twelve different scribes in these seventy and six years since the founding of Meridian Church, April 12, 1874. One period, from February 1908 to December 1910, is totally without a record except for one simple entrance and it is left unsigned by the clerk. . . .

"Free access to the collection of minutes of The Tennessee Baptist Association (now Knox County Association) in the Lawson McGhee Library, with the noble assistance of Miss Pollyanna Creekmore have been of invaluable aid in obtaining dates and names of personnel." (Foreword.)

Bradley-Ledgerwood History and Allied Families. By C. C. Justus. (Knoxville: C. C. Justus, 1949. Pp. 66. Appendix, general index.)

"The B & L Clans have, as a rule, been fundamentalists in religion-law observes; we have found none of penitentiary experience some in the Legislature and County Court, maybe one or two in the Caliboose, which reminds us of Hambone's remarks, 'If a man goes through this world without gittin in the Legislature, the County Court or the Caliboose, he should be met on the other shore and given a harp with a 1,000 strings.' (Page 7.). . . .

"The Ledgerwood family has a unique history in the line of rugged character. Especially of the pioneer Ledgerwoods; some short stories will not be amiss as to interest to later generations, as well as the present generation." (Page 33.)

The Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century, 1607-1689. By Wesley Frank Craven. Vol. I of *A History of the South,* ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. xvii, 451. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $6.00.)

"To write of the South when there was no South is a task not without difficulties. The men and women whose story is recounted in the following pages were not Southerners; in fact, they did not think of themselves even as Americans. They were Europeans and, for the most part, Englishmen. The sectional prides and prejudices which found expression in their lives bespoke principally the ancient ethnological and political divisions of Britain, and only gradually did they have occasion to substitute feelings born of their special position in America. . . . It is hoped that the narrative will contribute to a better understanding no less of our national than of our sectional origins, for regional history must find its ultimate justification in the light it brings to a study of the nation itself." (Author's Preface.)

About the only connection the work has with Tennessee history is the mention of some of the early explorers of the region and the beginnings of Indian trade.

The Confederate States of America, 1861-1865. By E. Merton Coulter. Vol. VII of *A History of the South,* ed. by Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. Pp. xiv, 644. Illustrations, footnotes, critical essay on authorities, index. $7.00.)

"The war years in the South were a time of heroism, self-sacrifice, despondency, and destruction. Now the fight of Southerners to maintain a civilization against change appeared to them to be as fundamental as was the contest of a later generation of Americans to protect Western culture against Asiatic tyrannical regimentation. Defeat brought an end to an era and lent special meaning to the term antebellum or 'before the war.' Thereafter that war needed no name (despite some Southerners' insistence on 'War Between the States'), for the sound in their ears of the word 'war' would mean only one war. . . .

"This volume could not, of course, do otherwise than concern itself with the whole picture of the South, thereby relegating the war itself to its proper relative position. It is hoped that in these pages the war has not been made to recede too far from its high estate. Here was the opportunity as well as the necessity of writing a history of the South and not of the war principally. But, indeed, there was little, as will be seen, which was not related in some way to the war; and so in these pages, where the war is not, its shadow falls. With the space thus saved, it has been possible to light up some of the dark corners of the South during the war years. (Author's Preface.)

A History of the Old South. By Clement Eaton. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. ix, 636. Illustrations, citations, bibliography, index. $5.00.)

"During the ante-bellum period strong similarities existed between the North and the South, similarities which have not properly been recognized. Nevertheless, despite an underlying homogeniety, there were differences between the two sections so sharp as to constitute a Southern Way of Life and a Northern Way of Life. In presenting this regional history of the South the purpose has been to keep the attention of the reader focused on the way of life of the people. It has been necessary to consider those differences which made the South a unique region and the interrelations between 'the South' and the nation of which it was a part. Therefore a vast amount of general American history has been omitted or placed in the background while emphasis has been given to those characteristics which are peculiarly 'Southern' and the historic processes which produced them." (Preface.)

The Southern Country Store, 1800-1860. By Lewis E. Atherton. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. xii, 227. Footnotes, bibliography, index. $3.50.)

"The Southern Country Store and the small farmer are shown here to have been important elements in southern economy long before the Civil War and its aftermath were supposed to have brought them into prominence.

"Mr. Atherton has based his able study of the economic life of the southern plain man on a wide survey of country newspapers, business records, family letters, and other source materials in southern historical collections. An appraisal is made of the plantation and its economic agent, the factor, but the major attention is centered upon the significance of country and interior stores and of the farm as basic southern economic agencies.

"Contrary to the traditional view, Mr. Atherton holds that the ante-bellum South was primarily a land of farmers, and that these people produced much of the cotton, tobacco, and foodstuffs which were exchanged for the goods of the outside world. The southern country storekeeper acted as a middleman in this process. His general store furnished farms with a wide variety of merchandise on credit for twelve months, which enabled them to harvest crops before meeting store bills. Agricultural produce, cotton and tobacco, were concentrated at these rural establishments and then sent to larger markets for ultimate disposal. Such stores sold or bartered anything from coffee to fine silks—marketed everything from cotton to ginseng—offered generous credit to communities short of cash, and even furnished money for the farmer's family to see the circus when it came to town. . . . " (Jacket.)

Plain Folk of the Old South. By Frank Lawrence Owsley. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949. Pp. xxi, 235. Footnotes, tables, index, $3.50.)

"Most Southern historians now are aware of the distortion involved in the conventional division of the Old South into three classes—planters, poor whites, and slaves. This misrepresentation, still maintained in a certain type of literature, is, according to Frank Lawrence Owsley, found to be true neither in tradition nor in historical research.

"That ante-bellum Southern life was of great complexity, that there existed a large and significant middle class, that the line between farmer and planter was not clearly drawn—these views have been generally acknowledged in recent years. Mr. Owsley was one of those who early held suspect the old three-class idea, but his problem, as he states it, was: 'From what sources could sufficient information be obtained which might be used to test the Olmsted-Cairnes view and the contradictory view of Southern tradition? As a rule, only those of large economic interest and ample housing space preserved their business records and family papers. Consequently most of the letters, diaries, and account books of the less wealthy of the Old South have long since disappeared.'

"In church records, county records, such as wills, deeds, tax lists, and grand jury reports, and in original (manuscript) Federal Census returns, Mr. Owsley at last found the material upon which a systematic study of the social structure of the Old South could be based. . . . " (Jacket.)

The first four chapters were delivered at Louisiana State University as the "Walter Lynwood Fleming Lectures in Southern History." The fifth, which has been added, gives a statistical analysis of landownership and slaveholding, including statistics for several selected counties in Tennessee.

A Treasury of Southern Folklore: Stories, Ballads, Traditions, and Folkways of the People of the South. Edited with an Introduction by B. A. Botkin. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1949. Pp. xxiv, 776. Footnotes, indices. $4.00.)

"Here is the South—the glamorous, gracious, rambunctious, contentious, warmhearted South. Here are the rebel yells and the Negro blues, the magnolias blooming and the pot-likker brewing. Here's Dixie—from Maryland's Eastern Shore and the Tidewater of Virginia to the broad Mississippi and deep in the heart of Texas. Here's the South as Southerners know it and tell about it.

"This is a book rich with the drama and color and tradition of the ante-bellum aristocracy of the Bluegrass, the Tidewater, the Low Country and Creole Louisiana—Jam-packed with the wonderful lore and incomparable music of the Negro, with the fun and gaiety and simple wisdom of the backwoods and the back-waters, the river bottoms, swamps, and bayous, the hills and valleys." (Jacket.)

Of especial interest to Tennesseans are the stories of or about Davy Crockett, Sam Houston, the bandits Murrell and the Harpe brothers, and the Cherokee Indians.

Southern Freight Rates in Transition. By William H. Joubert. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1949. Pp. xiii, 424. Maps, tables, footnotes, bibliography, index. $6.00.)

"It is a mistake to argue that Southern freight rates are a wicked design purposely rigged to retard the South. The matter is not quite that simple. Because of economic trends the Southern freight-rate structure fails to fit the needs of an economy in transition. The basic pattern of rates has remained relatively unchanged in a changing economy; lags have developed; discriminations have become more pronounced and more unbearable. Recent research indicates that many freight-rate relationships are maladjusted; tend to favor the large, established low wage-paying manufacturer of raw and semi-finished goods over the small man; discourage the establishment of many new industries, particularly those in the planning stage; and encourage the overexportation of raw materials and the importation of finished products. A few industries and the railroads may have benefited from this arrangement, but the South as a whole has lost.

"In analyzing these problems, mere assembling and organizing of the facts are not enough; criticism, evaluation, and proposals for improvement must be set forth if the analysis is to be of practical value as a guide to public policy. It is hoped that the present study will serve as such a guide to economic historians, members of the state and national regulatory commissions, freight-traffic managers, transportation economists, college students of transportation, newspaper and magazine editors, executives of the various transportation agencies, and readers with a general interest in recent economic developments in the South. Finally, it should be noted that the views expressed in this volume are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Tennessee Valley Authority." (Preface.)

The Story of the Mexican War. By Robert Selph Henry. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1950. Pp. 424. Frontispiece, maps, notes, synoptic table, index. $4.50.)

"The War between Mexico and the United States in 1846-1848 was the first war in history to be reported adequately and comprehensively in the daily press. . . .

"Letters, journals, narratives and sketches by participants, many of them published almost contemporaneously with the war, and the columns

of the American newspapers which sprang up in the wake of the armies in Mexico, add color and life to the reporting of the war.

"Official documents, correspondence and reports, published under the authority or at the call of Congress almost as soon as events took place, provide background and detail.

"Biographies of participants, many of whom became leading figures in the war of the sixties; special studies of particular operations or features of the war; and histories based upon the publications and documents of both sides, round out the materials from which this story is drawn. Most of these materials are identified in the notes found at the end of each chapter.

"The story is told from the viewpoint of a 'North American' who does not lack appreciation of the qualities shown by Mexican soldiers in defense of their country. . . .

"So this story of the Mexican War—not a history but a story—is written in the hope that it may help bring about a wider understanding of what scholars have learned of the causes, course and consequence of that war." (Preface.)

Thomas: Rock of Chickamauga. By Richard O'Connor. (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1948. Pp. x, 385. Illustrations, bibliographical note, appendices, index. $4.00.)

"It must also be explained at the outset that this biography of General Thomas begins in unconventional fashion. The usual method is, of course, to take the subject from cradle to grave in the manner of a lengthy obituary. Somewhat arbitrarily, but not out of a mere yearning for experiment, Thomas is first shown here in the campaign culminating in the battle of Chickamauga. There are classic precedents for such treatment; but the purpose here is to come upon him in the days of his greatest trial and achievement, which resulted in his single-minded salvation of the Army of the Cumberland, simply because they epitomized his whole life and character. Chickamauga is a capsule of Thomas himself. Then, in sequence, the events of his life preceding Chickamauga and those following it, the bitter years that saw his accomplishments disparaged and obscured by military politicians, will be recounted. It is a dusty portrait of Thomas that has been handed down to us today, a bearded old fossil at first glance, a grim-looking specimen whose unforgettable eyes seem to stare out over forgotten battlefields. So, away with the dust . . . ." (Prologue.)

Hood: Cavalier General. By Richard O'Connor. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. Pp. xii, 316. Illustrations, appendix, bibliographical note, index. $4.00.)

"John Bell Hood, the subject of this biography, was one of the young men whom the Civil War raised from obscurity to fame in a few brief years. He was not quite thirty and a lieutenant when it started, only thirty-four when it ended with him a full general of the Confederacy. In those years he experienced a lifetime of excitement, honor, sacrifice, and, finally, humiliation. . . .

"Anyone offering still another Civil War biography or history to add to the thousands that have been published in the last eighty-five years should have some reasonable explanation for the deed. Aside from the fact no biography of Hood has ever been published, and his autobiography 'Advance and Retreat' was almost entirely a defense of his western campaigns, written in answer to General Johnston's attacks on him, he seems worthy

of a full-scale study. For the military-minded, professional or amateur, his brilliantly successful leadership of a brigade and division as well as his controversial and short-lived command of the Army of Tennessee are of like interest. For the general reader, there is to be seen through the battlesmoke the figure of a man who would not admit defeat even after he lost an arm and a leg, who in his very human way delighted in the adulation of Richmond society and in pursuing its belles so energetically he was reported to be engaged to four of them at one time, who dodged through the Mississippi canebrakes even after all the Southern armies had been surrendered, in hope of continuing the fight. Such as he, the last of the cavalier generals, lost to the utilitarian Grant, Sherman, Thomas and Sheridan, just as the Southern Confederacy was finally forced to yield to the Northern Union, with its superiority in men and resources." (Foreword.)

Who Discovered America? The Amazing Story of Madoc. By Zella Armstrong, (Chattanooga: The Lookout Publishing Co., 1950. Pp. xi, 216. Illustrations, map, footnotes, appendix, bibliography. $6.00.)

"One of the most amazing stories in American history concerns Madoc of Wales, who is said to have discovered the American continent in the Twelfth Century. Well known historians of the Sixteenth Century say that Madoc made more than one journey to America . . . .

"Many references to Madoc and his journeys, which are quoted in this volume, have not been assembled previously. While it is not possible to include in this collection all references, some of the more important ones are quoted, both those which indicate belief in the Twelfth Century discovery and those expressing disbelief . . . .

"Some facts in American history, such as moat-encircled forts and ancient Roman coins found under centuries' earth coverage are included. They are inexplicable unless European people were on the American continent many centuries ago. Tennessee historians are quoted concerning white people who are said to have lived in the Tennessee country before Columbus.

"Some American references are included which apparently were never published in England and consequently they can not be subject to intimation of having been British propaganda. Governor John Sevier's letter bearing upon the subject was published in 1812, but was not generally available . . . .

"Evidence in this volume is extensive enough to indicate that America was discovered by European people before Columbus and that they landed on the Bay of Mobile. If these European people were not Welch further research may reveal their origin." (Foreword.)

Reproduced in color are several of Catlin's paintings of the fair-skinned Mandan Indians of the Missouri Valley, alleged descendants of the presumed Welsh discoverers.

The Forming of an American Tradition: A Re-examination of Colonial Presbyterianism. By Leonard J. Trinterud. (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1939. Pp. 352. Bibliography, notes, index. $6.50.)

"As the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America approaches the 250th anniversary of its founding, it becomes increasingly clear that the entire history of the Church has been shaped by that which its founding fathers thought and did during its first half century, 1706-1758. No valid understanding of American Presbyterianism is possible apart from

a thorough comprehension of the Church's life in these formative years. The purpose of this volume, accordingly, is to re-examine colonial Presbyterianism in order to make more clear the native genius of American Presbyterianism." (Preface.)

Naturally, only minor consideration is given to the extension of Presbyterianism west of the mountains into the Tennessee country; but much of the general discussion is applicable to the situation.

Tennessee in Literature. By David J. Harkness. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee *News Letter,* Vol. XXVIII, No. 11, November, 1949. Division of University Extension. Pp. 41.)

"Not every state can make the claim to literary eminence which Tennessee enjoys. . . . In the colorful history of the Volunteer State are found the ingredients of which legends are made—dauntless courage, romance, and high adventure. The numerous authors who claim our state as their birthplace or their adopted home have used in their books these events of history, along with the local color material indigenous to the mountains and other regions. Thus we have a rich cultural heritage of native literature which young and old may enjoy and look upon with just and lasting pride." (Introduction.)

A Mockingbird Sang at Chickamauga: tale of Embattled Chattanooga. By Alfred Leland Crabb. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1949. Pp. 297. $2.75.)

"Over all the impassioned and devoted deeds of the sons and daughters of the Confederacy A. L. Crabb casts the bittersweet essence of the fading South, gallant in its loyalty to a cause that is perforce yielding to superior power even in the hour of victory. This is A. L. Crabb's forte, and his readers love it. If you have missed *Lodging at the St. Cloud* and the author's famous Nashville novels, you have a six-course treat in store." (Jacket.)

Reunion at Chattanooga. By Alfred Leland Crabb. (Indianopolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1950. Pp. 308. $2.75.)

"Alfred Leland Crabb's readers know his ability to portray the character of a city by affording us a vivid picture of the people who represent its spirit. The novels of Nashville give us the gracious beauty and romantic charm of her people and places. . . .

"Now the author has turned his attention to Chattanooga. *A Mockingbird Sang at Chickamauga* is a tale of romance and espionage in the terrible summer of 1863. The present novel treats of the years from 1876 to 1890.

"Enterprising Yankees drifted back to Chattanooga, drawn by the memory of overwhelming scenery, of natural and native beauty and charm that had shown through the mud and grime of war, and by the prospect of unlimited business opportunity. The little town was especially blessed, for although there were a few of the inevitable shifty-eyed, devious-handed opportunists and carpetbaggers, for the most part the newcomers were good people, wishing to avail themselves of the chance to live happily with their neighbors, to live honest lives and build honest fortunes." (Jacket.)

Rogue's March. By Maristan Chapman. (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1949. Pp. 384. Map on end-papers. $3.00.)

"The author of *The Happy Mountain,* enormously popular book of some years ago, brings all of her talents to bear in this historical novel of love and war in the fall of the year 1780. Near the point where Tennessee, the Carolinas, and Georgia come together was fought the battle of Kings Mountain in which were involved some of the least publicized, most important personalities in American Revolutionary history.

"Weaving the story in and around events leading up to this bloody encounter, the author takes the reader to the mountain country where the fate of the nation hangs upon a quirk of chance—like the height of a stream at Musgrove's Mill, like the weather in upland meadows, like the courage of a few women in lone mountain cabins, like the frail and shifting character of one charming young man." (Jacket.)

Kings Mountain. By Florette Henri. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1950. Pp. viii, 340. $3.00.)

"In 1780 success for the American cause looked dubious. General Lincoln was vainly trying to hold Charleston. Washington dared not go South to his rescue for fear of weakening the northern forces fatally. The French fleet became lost in a storm.

"In these desperate circumstances the Carolina territory was being defended by little bands of weary men, backwoodsmen and 'swampsuckers,' famous for their midnight raids . . . .

"The next few months were filled with fierce fighting and the tremendous complications arising from frontier loyalties and treacheries. Then at last the Americans met Ferguson's forces for the all-out battle on Kings Mountain.

"*Kings Mountain* is at once a thoroughly convincing segment of American history and a tender and unusual love story." (Jacket.)

Much of the scene of this historical novel is laid west of the mountains in Tennessee country.

Thru the Years with the Volunteers: Tennessee Football, 1890-1950. By Tom Siler. Foreword by Herman Hickman. (Knoxville: The author, Knoxville *News-Sentinel* columnist, 1950. Pp. vi, 102. Illustrations. $1.00.)

"I got quite a thrill when Tom Siler asked me to do the Foreword for 'The Volunteers.' The story of Tennessee football and the work of one of the great coaches of all time, General Neyland, (Tennessee football and the General are synonymous) is long overdue.

"No team in modern football has a better record; no coach has done a more masterful job. We have waited long for such a book and, thank goodness, it's at last a reality. No author could be better qualified to write this saga than Tom Siler, my old barefoot schoolmate from Jellico, Tenn. He's 'kinfolks,' and we old Tennessee football players would not trust a 'furriner' on such a job. Tom probably knows the Major, Lieutenant Colonel, General Neyland better than any other writer, and certainly every Tennessee football player during the past 25 years, at least, knows Tom, and, more important, Tom knows them. He knows all about them, being a walking statistician when it comes to football at Tennessee." (Foreword.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1949

Programs of the Society

JANUARY. "The Cooperative Town Company of Elizabethton," by J. Fred Holly, associate professor of labor relations, University of Tennessee.

FEBRUARY. "Development of Knoxville as a Wholesale Trade Center," by E. O. Dille, head, Marketing Department, University of Tennessee.

MARCH. "Some Reminiscences of the History of St. Johns Episcopal Parish, Knoxville, Tennessee," by Charles M. Seymour, parish historiographer.

APRIL. "The History of the Methodist Church of Jonesboro," by Paul M. Fink, of Jonesboro. This paper is published in this issue of the *Publications*.

MAY. The May meeting of the Society was held on Saturday, April 30, at Harrogate, Tennessee, with the president and faculty of Lincoln Memorial University as hosts. The members and guests numbering about forty were received in the rooms of the Lincolniana Collection by Professor R. Gerald McMurtry, curator, who made a brief talk about the Collection, which is one of the largest of its kind in the world. Dr. R. L. Kincaid, the president of the University, took the guests on a guided tour of the Campus ending at the Arthur House, home of Mr. A. A. Arthur, who headed the group which founded Harrogate.

At the dinner which was served at 6:00 P.M. President Graf presided and introduced members and guests. There were two main addresses. Dr. John B. Clark, professor of history at L. M. U., spoke on "Some Historical Facts about Claiborne County," and Dr. Kincaid talked about "Harrogate and the Founding of Lincoln Memorial University."

JUNE. "The Fight for Local Prohibition in Knoxville, 1907," by Leslie F. Roblyer, graduate student in the Department of History, University of Tennessee.

OCTOBER. The annual dinner meeting of the Society was held in the Colonial Room of Hotel Farragut on Saturday, October 15, at 6:30 P.M. The speaker of the evening was General W. L. Frierson, Chattanooga attorney and member of the Tennessee Constitutional Revision Committee. His subject was "The History of the Movement to Amend the Tennessee Constitution." He analyzed the proposal for a limited constitutional convention which was then the issue in an approaching state referendum.

NOVEMBER. "Charles McClung McGhee as Revealed in His Letters," by Marguerite B. Hamer, assistant professor of history, University of Tennessee. Some of these letters are printed in this issue of the *Publications*.

DECEMBER. The Tennessee Historical Society and the East Tennessee Historical Society held a joint meeting in Knoxville on Friday and Saturday December 9 and 10. Special guests were the members of the Tennessee Historical Commission of whom the following were present: Mr. Stanley F. Horn, Nashville; Mrs. Penelope Johnson Allen, and Miss Zella Armstrong, Chattanooga; Mr. E. E. Patton and Miss Mary U. Rothrock, Knoxville.

A dinner was held on Friday evening at 7:00 P.M., in the Colonial Room of the Farragut Hotel with 98 persons in attendance. Dr. LeRoy P. Graf, president of the East Tennessee Historical Society, was toastmaster and presided over the East Tennessee Historical Society's part of the program. The invocation was given by Dr. I. P. Martin, historian, Holston Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Graf introduced the members of the Tennessee Historical Commission and the guests and members from out-of-town. Among those places represented were: Elizabethton, Johnson City, Kingsport, Bristol, Morristown, Maryville, Sevierville, Chattanooga, and Clinton.

At this meeting the following officers of the East Tennessee Historical Society for 1950 were elected: president: James S. Bowman; vice-presidents: Knoxville area, Harry S. Hyman, Upper East Tennessee, Paul M. Fink of Jonesboro, Lower East Tennessee, Milton B. Ochs of Chattanooga; secretary: Pollyanna Creekmore; treasurer: Martha L. Ellison; members of executive committee: LeRoy P. Graf, Verton M. Queener, Laura E. Luttrell, and Harvey Broome. S. J. Folmsbee was re-elected managing editor of the *Publications,* and LeRoy P. Graf, associate editor. Mary U. Rothrock and Weymouth T. Jordan were re-elected to the board of editors for terms of three years.

James S. Bowman, a member of the Blount Memorial Park Association, gave a report of the progress of the work of the Association. James W. K. Johnson, chairman of a committee of the Tennessee Society, Sons of the Revolution, gave a talk on the restoration of Fort Loudoun, giving a historical sketch and expressing hope that the restoration could be resumed by interested historical groups in the state.

Stanley F. Horn, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, took charge of the meeting and after introductory remarks proceeded to introduce the speaker of the evening, Dr. Daniel M. Robison, Tennessee state librarian and archivist, who spoke on "State Library Problems from an Historian's Point of View." Robert Quarles, secretary of the Tennessee Historical Society then displayed a number of important historical documents, including the Cumberland Compact, from the Society's collection, which he had brought over from Nashville.

On Saturday there was a tour of historical sites beginning at Blount Mansion in the morning with the ladies of the William Blount Mansion Association as hostesses. From there the group of about forty persons visited Chisholm Tavern and then by automobile journeyed to the site of Fort Loudoun on the Little Tennessee River in Monroe County. H. L. Callahan of Madisonville acted as guide to the ruins of the Fort and on a tour up the Little Tennessee River to inspect the sites of the Cherokee Indian towns.

* * * * *

The McClung Award given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung of Knoxville, to the contributor of the best article in the Society's *Publications,* was awarded for the year 1949 to W. H. G. Armytage of Sheffield University, Sheffield, England, for his article, "New Light on the English Background of Thomas Hughes' Rugby Colony in America." The judges were Professors Jeter Isely, Princeton University, Kenneth M. Stampp, University of California at Berkeley, T. Harry Williams, Louisiana State University, and Wallace Mendelson, University of Tennessee.

The Tennessee general assembly in 1949 appropriated $10,000 for the marking of the sites of former state capitol buildings in Tennessee at Knoxville, Kingston, and Murfreesboro. Dr. S. J. Folmsbee was appointed a member of a Chamber of Commerce committee to arrange for the marking of the sites in Knoxville.

The same general assembly appropriated $50,000 for the biennium to be expended by the Tennessee Historical Commission in cooperation with the Highway Department and with the approval of the governor for the erection of highway markers. Under the general superintendence of Dr. Robert H. White of Nashville, Miss Mary U. Rothrock was appointed as director of the project for Upper East Tennessee, Mrs. Penelope J. Allen for the Chattanooga area, Vernon Sharp for Middle Tennessee, and Seale Johnson for West Tennessee. Miss Rothrock appointed as her district chairman: Mrs. Samuel C. Williams of Johnson City, Prentiss Price of Rogersville, Joseph A. Sharp of Sevierville, and James S. Bowman of Knoxville.

Col. Milton B. Ochs, vice-president of the Society for Lower East Tennessee, and other members of the Society in Chattanooga, were among the founders of the Chattanooga Historical Society, which has become interested, among other things, in the restoration of the U. S. Grant House.

The Tennessee Valley Bank of Knoxville since June, 1947, has been using a cut of an historical building or site on its semi-annual statement. Among the subjects used and the dates of the statements on which they appeared are:

Old College, University of Tennessee. (June, 1947.)
Old Gay Street Bridge. (December, 1947.)
Ramsey's Stone House. (June, 1948.)
City Hall. (December, 1948.)
Blount Mansion. (June, 1949.)
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Walter Faw Cannon is a teaching fellow in general education at Harvard University.

William N. Chambers is assistant professor of political science at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

Paul M. Fink, a business man of Jonesboro, Tennessee, and vice-president of the East Tennessee Historical Society, is an outstanding local historian of Washington County and East Tennessee.

Stanley J. Folmsbee is professor of history at the University of Tennessee and managing editor of the *Publications* of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Verton M. Queener is head of the Social Science Department of Maryville College and a member of the executive committee of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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Mrs. Charles F. Wayland, Sr., is a prominent local historian of Knoxville, Tennessee, and a state officer in the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Marguerite B. Hamer is assistant professor of history at the University of Tennessee.

Pollyanna Creekmore is assistant in charge of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, and secretary of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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